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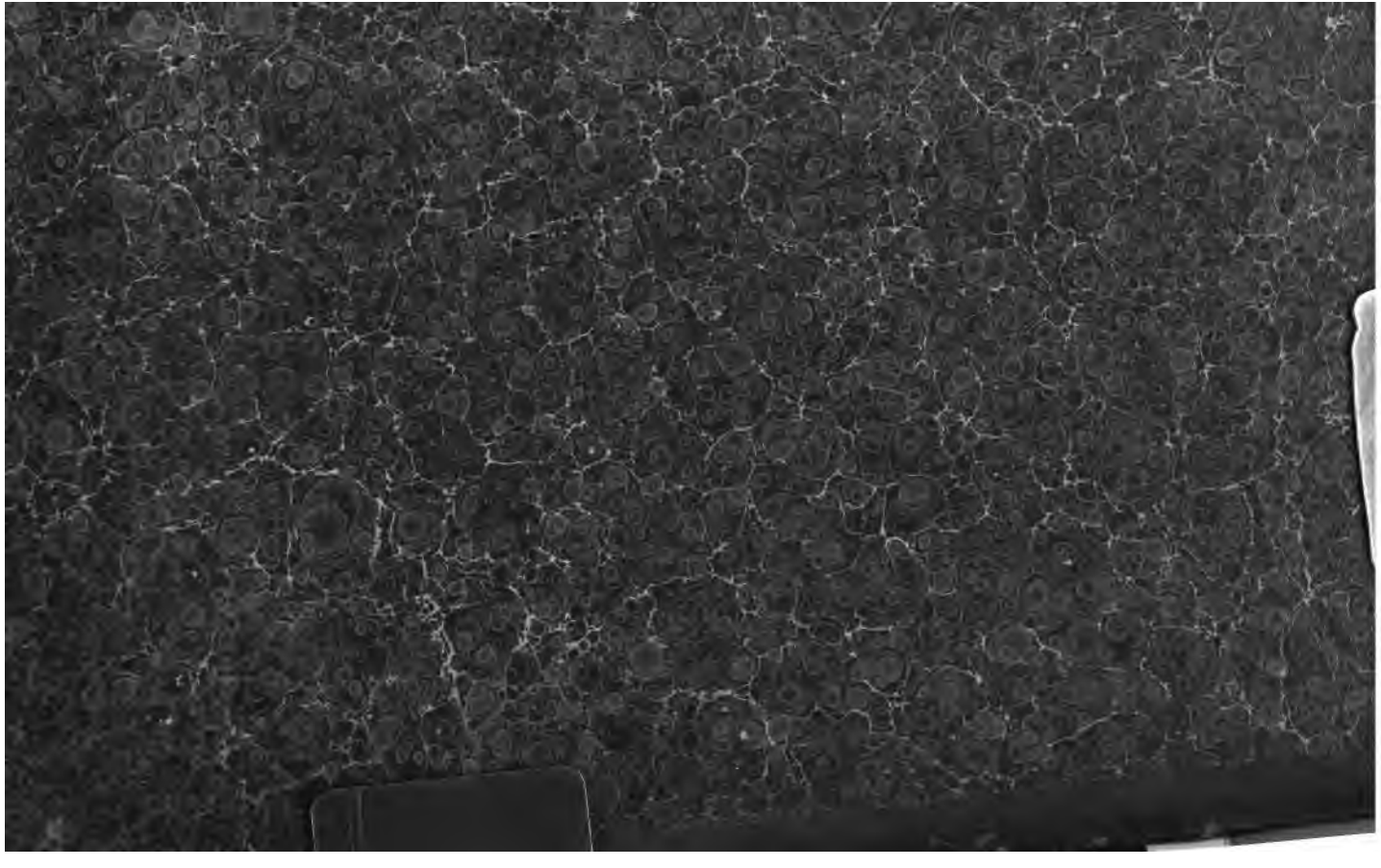

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

FOR THE YEAR M,DCCC.

Printed by SAMUEL HALL, No. 53, Cornhill, BOSTON.
1801.

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THE Hiſtorical Society holds not itſelf "reſponſible for every thing," which appears in its COLLECTIONS. If any repreſentation is not ſupported by good authorities, it is open to temperate diſcuſſion. Perſonal ſatire is here inadmiſſible. It is requiſite that he, who combats any real or ſuppoſed error, give his reaſons, or authorities, diſpaſſionately; and thus prove that he is contending, not for victory, but for truth. This is the only becoming conteſt in the republic of letters.

Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc ſum.

The anonymous writer of the following article will, hence, perceive why ſome of his remarks are ſuppreſſed.

REMARKS ON "A HISTORY OF SALEM."

THE learning, the reſpectability, the known merits of the Hiſtorical Society, awe an individual, and command reſpect to what is publiſhed under their ſanction. Yet as it may be doubtful whether they feel reſponſible for every thing, which particular members, or correſpondents, may communicate, it becomes a duty to point out any exceptionable paſſages in their publications. If this be not done, the weight of their influence may tend to give authority to error, and pervert public opinion.

This, we hope, will apologize for a few remarks on "A Hiſtory of Salem," publiſhed by the Hiſtorical Society.

Paſſing over ſeveral other things, the character given of Mr. Roger Williams particularly provokes examination. The portrait of him, drawn in this hiſtory, is ſo unlike that, left by his cotemporaries and acquaintance, that were it not for the *name*, no mortal would imagine it deſigned for the ſame perſon. If the learned hiſtorian have any authorities for what he aſſerts, it would have been kind in him, and ſatisfactory to his readers, had he admitted them to ſee the new diſcovery for themſelves. No authority is quoted. But in page 246 he ſays, though "Mr. Williams blamed the adminiſtration, *he did not oppoſe it.*" In the ſame

ſame page he ſays, he "could be *perſuaded*, but not compelled, to renounce his opinions." In page 249 he ſays, that, "In Salem every perſon loved Mr. Williams; that he had no perſonal enemies under any pretence." In page 245 he ſays, that Mr. Williams, "throughout all his life, ſupported a high place in their affections, as a truly godly man." Again he ſays, that "kind treatment could win him; that he always had addreſs enough, with his firmneſs, never to be forſaken by the friends he had ever gained; that he breathed the pureſt devotion."

We will make no reflections, but appeal to ſeveral writers, who lived nearer the ſcene of action; ſome of whom ſaw this comet blazing in his eccentric orb. One of them, Morton, informs us that "Williams refuſed the oath of fidelity himſelf, and taught others ſo to do: that he alſo ſpake dangerous words againſt the patent, which was the foundation of the government."

Mather tells us, that this "hot-headed man publicly and *furiouſly* preached againſt the patent;" that "he violently *withſtood* the oath of fidelity." I might quote from Governor Winthrop, Hutchinſon, and Hubbard, to prove the ſame fact. Was not here oppoſition to the adminiſtration, as powerful as he could make?

Equally violent was his oppoſition to church adminiſtration. Morton ſays, that "he procured the church of Salem's conſent unto letters of admonition, which were written and ſent by him in their name to the churches of Boſton, Charleſtown, and Newtown." What Pontiff at Rome would have done more?

The ſame author informs us that Williams, "growing more violent, immured in his own houſe, ſent a letter to his church, which was read in public, threatening that if they would not ſeparate not only from the churches of Old England, but from the churches of New-England too, he would ſeparate from them." The church did not comply with ſuch a mad propoſal, and therefore he did ſeparate from *them*, and ſet up a meeting in "his own houſe, to which divers of the *weaker ſort* repaired." Thus was he *forſaken;* yet the preſent hiſtorian aſſerts, "that he always had addreſs enough—*never* to be *forſaken* by the friends, he had *ever* gained." He alſo aſſerts that "In Salem

lem every perſon loved him." Stubborn facts repel theſe aſſertions, and other writers contradict them.

The ſame remark will apply, when he ſays that Williams " could be perſuaded, and that kind treatment could win him." Governor Hutchinſon ſays, that " endeavours *were* uſed to reclaim him, but to *no purpoſe*." Mather ſays, that " before the court proceeded to baniſh this incendiary, they adviſed with the paſtors of the neighbouring churches," " who *requeſted* that they would forbear proſecuting him till they and their churches had in a church way endeavoured his conviction and repentance." Their propoſal was allowed. " The church of Boſton, and ſeveral other churches, took the beſt pains they could, and though they brought the church of Salem to join with them, the effect on Williams was, that he renounced them *all* as no churches." And though the church of Salem gave him up, and joined with thoſe, who admoniſhed him; yet this writer ſays, that " every perſon loved him, and that he had addreſs enough never to be forſaken by the friends he had *ever* gained."

With equal propriety he ſays, Williams " breathed the pureſt devotion." As he has not produced any ſample of his devotion, the taſk is ours. Writers, who had at leaſt as good opportunities as this hiſtorian, ſay, that after he ſeparated from his people, " he never more came to the church aſſembly; he withdrew all private religious communion from any, who held communion with them"; " he would not pray with his own wife and family, nor aſk a bleſſing at meals with them, becauſe they went to the church aſſemblies."

Finally, after his baniſhment as a peſt of ſociety, " he turned Anabaptiſt, (ſays Morton) then told his deluded followers, he was out of the way himſelf, and had miſled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could adminiſter baptiſm, and therefore their laſt baptiſm was a nullity as well as their firſt, and therefore they muſt lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apoſtles; ſo they diſſolved themſelves."

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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1800.

THE HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE. BY ABIEL HOLMES, A.M. A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

——forſan et hæc olim meminiſſe juvabit. VIRGIL.

*A topographical Deſcription of Cambridge.**

CAMBRIDGE is a ſhire town, in the county of Middleſex. It lies in 42°. 23′. north latitude, and 71°. weſt longitude from London. It is bounded on the north-eaſt by Charleſtown; on the north-weſt by Lexington; on the weſt by Watertown; on the ſouth-weſt by Newton; on the ſouth by Brookline, and on the ſouth-eaſt and eaſt by Cambridge bay to Charleſtown line.

It is about three miles diſtant from Boſton, on a right line; eight miles, as meaſured on the road leading through Brookline and Roxbury; about four miles and a half through Charleſtown; and three miles, one quarter, and ſixty rods from the old ſtate-houſe, by the way of Weſt-Boſton bridge.

The ſoil is various. In the ſouth-weſt part of the town, within a mile of Charles river, the land is hilly, and abounds in ſprings. The ſoil is loamy, and natural to graſs. In the

* For this *Deſcription*, I am principally indebted to my worthy friend, and reſpectable pariſhioner, CALEB GANNETT, Eſquire.

the north-weſt part of the town, the land is hilly, and ſimilar to that in the ſouth-weſt part. The hills, in each part, afford large quantities of ſtone for maſon's work. From the foot of the hills on the ſouth ſide of Charles-river, excepting a quantity of marſh of about 300 acres on each ſide, the ſoil is moſtly light, and intermixed with loam, lying upon a ſtratum of clay, at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, though at ſome places it runs to or near the ſurface. The ſoil is the ſame through the firſt pariſh, and Menotomy plains. On the ſides of the rivulet, which divides the firſt and ſecond pariſhes, there is a large quantity of meadow land, producing but little graſs, and of an inferior quality. This meadow, however, abounds with peat, which is uſed by the poorer inhabitants for fuel.

The original growth of the land was oak, walnut, and pine. The orchards, planted by the firſt ſettlers, flouriſhed greatly. The few ancient trees now remaining, being of a much larger ſize than any planted within half a century, denote vegetation to have been much more vigorous in former than in later years. From this cauſe, the quantity of fruit is greatly diminiſhed.

The plains, though not fruitful in graſs, are well adapted to the raiſing of Indian corn, winter rye, and the common eſculent vegetables.

From the hilly and diverſified ſurface of ſeveral parts, and the paſſage of Charles river through the middle, of the town, it might be ſuppoſed that the air is very pure. Experience confirms the ſuppoſition. Many of the inhabitants have attained great longevity; and invalids, from other towns, have realized the beneficial effects of a ſalubrious air from a temporary reſidence in the town. Perſons afflicted with chronic diſorders have alſo received additional advantages, and ſometimes effectual relief, by the uſe of the waters in a chalybeate ſpring in the ſouth-weſt pariſh.

The largeſt river in Cambridge is Charles river, which is navigable to the bridge leading to Brookline, for veſſels of ninety tons, and for lighters to Watertown.

Three ponds head a rivulet, which divides the firſt and ſecond pariſhes, and which empties itſelf into Myſtic river. The fiſh, uſually to be found in freſh rivers and ponds, may

may, in their ſeaſon, be caught in theſe waters. Anciently, the alewife fiſhery was of conſiderable value. Excluſive of the purpoſe of exportation, the fiſh were uſed as manure for the land.* This fiſhery is, at preſent, of little conſequence.

In the north-weſt pariſh, in Cambridge, on a ſmall brook, which originates in Lexington, and empties itſelf into Myſtic river, there are one ſaw mill, and three griſt mills. Perſons, tranſporting their grain from the north-weſt part of the ſtate to Boſton, might avail themſelves of theſe mills, with convenience, to convert it into meal; and thus render it more ſaleable in the market.

In the ſame pariſh, there is a card manufactory which does great honour to American ingenuity. The machine, uſed in this manufactory, by a ſimple operation, bends, cuts, and ſticks the card teeth. It was invented in the ſpring of 1797, by Amos Whittemore, of Cambridge; and, on the firſt of September, 1799, William Whittemore and company commenced buſineſs. Twenty-three machines, now in operation, ſtick two hundred dozen pairs of cards, on an average, every week. Forty perſons, male and female, employed in this manufactory, complete the above-mentioned number, weekly, for ſale. The building, in which the whole work is done, is 46 feet ſquare; and the average price of the cards is 7 dollars per dozen pairs.

About fifty rods below the bridge leading to Brookline, there is a very commodious wharf, owned by William Winthrop, Eſquire, at which great quantities of wood and lumber are annually unladen, to the great convenience of the mechanical intereſts, and to the general accommodation of the town. The breadth of Charles river here, is twenty-two rods.

Weſt-Boſton bridge, connecting Cambridge with Boſton, is a magnificent ſtructure. It was erected at the expenſe of a company incorporated for that purpoſe; and coſt

76,700

* This ſingular ſpecies of manure appears to have been much uſed in the infancy of the country. An early writer, in reference to the firſt ſettlers of Concord, obſerves: "The Lord is pleaſed to provide for them great ſtore of fiſh in the ſpring time, and eſpecially alewives, about the bigneſs of a herring: many thouſands of theſe they uſed to put under their Indian corne." *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New-England.*

76,700 dollars. The cauſeway, on the Cambridge ſide, was begun July 15, 1792; the wood work, April 8, 1793. The bridge was opened for paſſengers, November 23, 1793, ſeven months and an half from the time of laying the firſt pier. It is very handſomely conſtructed; and, when lighted by its two rows of lamps, extending a mile and a quarter, preſents a viſta, which has a fine effect.

It ſtands on 180 piers, and is	-	3483 feet long.
Bridge over the gore, 14 do.	- -	275 do.
Abutment, Boſton ſide,	- - -	87½
Cauſeway	- - - - -	3344
Diſtance from the end of the cauſeway to the firſt church in Cambridge	-	7810
Width of the bridge	- - -	40

It is railed on each ſide, for foot-paſſengers. The ſides of the cauſeway are ſtoned, capſtand, and railed; and on each ſide there is a canal, about 30 feet wide. A toll is granted to the proprietors for 70 years.

The diſtance from the firſt church in Cambridge to the old ſtate-houſe in Boſton, over this bridge, is three miles, one quarter, and ſixty rods; and to the new ſtate-houſe about three miles.

The erection of this bridge has had a very perceivable influence on the trade of Cambridge, which, formerly, was very inconſiderable. By bringing the travel from the weſtward and northward through the centre of the town, it has greatly invigorated buſineſs there. It, at the ſame time, has given riſe to a thriving trade in the vicinity of the bridge, where ſeveral houſes and ſtores have already been built, and where a rapid progreſs of trade and commerce may rationally be expected. The land, on each ſide of the road to Boſton, from the farm formerly Inman's (lately Mr. Jarvis's) to the bridge, is divided into ſmall lots, accommodated to the purpoſe of houſes and ſtores; and has recently been ſold.* This ſale will, probably, be introductory to a compact and populous ſettlement.

There are five edifices for public worſhip in the town: within the limits of the firſt pariſh, a Congregational and an Epiſcopal church; in the ſecond pariſh, a Congregational and a Baptiſt church; and in the third, a Congregational church.

* January, 1801.

There

There are five College edifices belonging to Harvard Univerſity: 1. *Harvard Hall*, (ſtanding on the ſcite of old Harvard, which was burnt in 1764) containing a chapel, and dining hall, the library, and muſeum, a philoſophy chamber, and an apartment for the philoſophical apparatus; built in 1765:

2. *Maſſachuſetts Hall*, of 4 ſtories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 ſtudies; built in 1720:

3. *Hollis Hall*, of 4 ſtories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 ſtudies; built in 1763:

4. *Holden Chapel*, lately converted into lecturing and reciting rooms, for the uſe of the profeſſors and tutors; built in 1745. Theſe 4 buildings are of brick.

5. *College Houſe*, a wooden building, of 3 ſtories, containing 12 rooms with ſtudies. This building ſtands without the college yard, having been originally built, about 1770, for a private dwelling-houſe, and purchaſed, about two years afterward, by the Corporation of Harvard College.

Stoughton Hall, which ſtood nearly on a line with Hollis, on the ſouth, was a brick building, built in 1698, and taken down in 1781. An extenſive and beautiful common ſpreads to the north-weſt of the colleges, and adds much to the pleaſantneſs of this central part of the town.

A few rods to the ſouth-weſt of the firſt church, ſtands a county court-houſe, where the judicial courts are holden, and the public buſineſs of the town is tranſacted. At the ſouth-weſt corner of Market Square, is the jail, an ancient wooden building, not much uſed, for the confinement of criminals, ſince the erection of a ſtone jail at Concord, (the other ſhire town of Middleſex) in 1789.

A little to the weſtward of the Epiſcopal church is the grammar ſchool-houſe; where a town ſchool is kept through the year. Beſides this, there are ſix ſchool houſes in the town; two in each of the three pariſhes.

During this ſummer, a bath was erected at brick-wharf, principally for the benefit of the ſtudents of the Univerſity. It was made under the ſuperintendance of Thomas Brattle, Eſquire, and happily unites ornament with utility.

The gardens of Thomas Brattle, Eſquire, are univerſally admired,

admired, for the juſtneſs of their deſign, and for the richneſs, variety, and perfection, of their productions. In no part of New-England, probably, is horticulture carried to higher perfection than within his incloſure. A mall, adjoining his grounds, made in 1792, and ſhaded by handſome rows of trees, is a work of neatneſs and taſte; and is, at once, convenient and ornamental to the town.

On the road leading to Watertown, there are ſeveral elegant ſeats, which attract the notice, and delight the eye, of the traveller. One of theſe ſeats, now owned by Mr. Andrew Craigie, was the place of General WASHINGTON's reſidence, while he was with the American army at Cambridge.

It is generally conceded, that this town eminently combines the tranquillity of philoſophic ſolitude, with the choiceſt pleaſures and advantages of refined ſociety.

	Acres.	rods
The Firſt Pariſh in Cambridge contains -	2851	6
The Second - - - - - - -	4345	12
The Third - - - - - - -	2660	8

In October, 1798, the number of dwelling-houſes in the

Firſt Pariſh, and within the town, was - -	148
In the Second - - - - - - - -	85
In the Third - - - - - - - -	68
Total houſes in Cambridge,	301

The preſent number of inhabitants in Cambridge is	2445
In 1790, the number was - - - - -	2115
Increaſe in 10 years - -	330

The Hiſtory of Cambridge.

THE ſettlement of Cambridge commenced in 1631. It was the original intention of the ſettlers to make it the metropolis of the Province of Maſſachuſetts. Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, and the Aſſiſtants, having examined the territory lying contiguous to the new ſettlements, upon view of this ſpot, "all agreed it a fit place for a beautiful town, and took time to conſider fur-

ther

ther about it."* On the 29th of December, 1630, "after many conſultations about a fit place to build a town for the ſeat of government, they agree on a place N.W. ſide of Charles river, about three miles W. from Charleſtown; and all, except Mr. Endicot and Sharp (the former living at Salem, and the latter purpoſing to return to England) oblige themſelves to build houſes there the following ſpring, and remove their ordnance and munition thither, and firſt call the place NEWTOWN."† The town was laid out in ſquares, the ſtreets interſecting each other at right angles. One ſquare was reſerved for the purpoſe of a market; and remains open, to this day, ſtill retaining the name of *Market Place.*‡ The ſtreet, leading by the Town Spring to the ſouthward, was called *Creek Street.* The ſtreet, parallel to this, leading from the College to the Cauſeway, *Wood Street.* The ſtreet, parallel to this, leading from the Firſt Church to Marſh Lane, *Water Street.* The ſtreet eaſtward, and parallel to this, leading from Braintree Street to Marſh Lane, *Crooked Street, or Lane.*§ The ſtreet, from the Parſonage to Wood Street, *Braintree Street.* The ſtreet ſouthward, and parallel to this, running from the Town Spring to Crooked Lane, *Spring Street.* The ſtreet, parallel to this, and farther ſouth, running from Creek Street to Crooked Lane, *Long Street.* South of this a lane on the margin of the marſh, called *Marſh Lane.* A lane leading from Crooked Street or Lane into the Neck, called *Back Lane.* Back Lane was narrow and crooked, and is now diſcontinued and incloſed; and, in its ſtead, a new ſtreet, 45 feet wide, and ſtraight, has been laid out a few rods to the ſouthward of that lane.

According to agreement, the Deputy-Governor, Secretary Bradſtreet, and other principal gentlemen, in the ſpring of 1631, commenced the execution of the plan, with a view

* Gov. Winthrop's Journal, printed at Hartford, in 1790.

† Prince's Chronology, vol. II. 8. Three numbers only of a ſecond volume of this Chronology were ever publiſhed.

‡ For the original names of the ſtreets of Cambridge, I am indebted to WILLIAM WINTHROP, Eſquire, (a deſcendant of Governor Winthrop) who, in ſome other particulars, has obligingly contributed to the correctneſs of this hiſtory.

§ This ſtreet was ſtraightened the preſent year.

a view to its ſpeedy completion. The Governor ſet up the frame of a houſe where he firſt pitched his tent; and the Deputy-Governor finiſhed his houſe,* and removed his family. On ſome conſiderations, however, "which at firſt came not into their minds," the Governor, in the enſuing autumn, took down his frame, and removed it into Boſton, with the intention of making that the place of his future abode; greatly to the diſappointment of the reſt of the company, who were ſtill reſolved to build at Newtown. Having promiſed the people of Boſton, when they firſt ſat down with him there, that he would not remove, unleſs they ſhould accompany him; they now petitioned him, "under all their hands," that, according to his promiſe, he would not leave them. About this time, alſo, Chicketawbu, the Chief of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Newtown, viſited the Governor with high profeſſions of friendſhip; which rendered him leſs apprehenſive of danger from the Indians, and leſs ſolicitous for a fortified town. Together with theſe conſiderations, to influence the Governor to this new reſolution, Boſton was now "like to be the place of chiefeſt commerce."†

Various orders of the Court of Aſſiſtants ſhew, however, that Newtown, ſtill deſigned for the metropolis, was taken under legiſlative patronage. On the 14th of June, 1631, the Court, in conſideration of "Mr. John Maſters' having undertaken to make a paſſage from Charles river to the New Town, 12 feet broad, and 7 deep, promiſes him ſatisfaction." On the 5th of July, the Court ordered, "that there be levied out of the ſeveral plantations £.30, for making the Creek from Charles river to Newtown."‡ In the courſe of the ſame year, a thatched houſe, in Boſton, taking fire from the chimney, and becoming burnt down; "for prevention whereof," obſerves the Deputy-Governor, "in our *New Town*, intended to be built this ſummer, we have

* It ſtood on the weſt ſide of Water Street, near its ſouthern termination at Marſh Lane.

† Belknap's American Biography, II. 339. Hubbard's MS. Hiſt. of N. Eng.

‡ Prince, II. 30, 31. This creek, or paſſage, which is ſtill open, extends from the river, in a northerly direction, to the upland on the weſt ſide of Water Street, where it is interſected by Marſh Lane.

have ordered, that no man there ſhall build his chimney with *wood*, nor cover his houſe with *thatch*."* On the 3d of February, 1632, the Court ordered, "that £.60 be levied out of the ſeveral plantations, towards making a paliſado about the New Town."†

An hiſtorian, who was in New-England, at this time, and who left it the year following, obſerves: "Newtown was firſt intended for a city, but, upon more ſerious conſiderations, it was thought not ſo fit, being too far from the ſea; being the greateſt inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neateſt and beſt compacted towns in New-England, having many fair ſtructures, with many handſome contrived ſtreets. The inhabitants moſt of them are very rich."‡

In ſome of the firſt years, the annual election of the Governor and Magiſtrates of the Colony was holden in this town. The people, on theſe occaſions, aſſembled under an oak tree, which long remained a venerable monument of the

* Prince, II. 23.

† Prince, II. 57. This fortification was actually made; and the foſſe, which was then dug around the town, is, in ſome places, viſible, to this day. It commenced at Brick Wharf, (originally called Windmill Hill) and ran along the northern ſide of the preſent Common in Cambridge, and through what was then a thicket, but now conſtitutes a part of the cultivated grounds of Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis; beyond which it cannot be diſtinctly traced. It encloſed above 1000 acres.

‡ Wood's New-England's Proſpect.

Note for page 8.

Chicketawbut was the ſagamore of Neponcett, which could not have been far from Boſton, for, on the 14th of February, 1632, "the Governor and ſome other company went to view the country as far as Neponcett, and returned that night." The firſt mention of this Indian chief, within my knowledge, is March 23, 1631, when "Chickatabot‖ came with his ſannops and ſquaws, and preſented the Governor with a buſhel of Indian corn." In April, he "came to the Governor again, and he put him into a very good new ſuit from head to foot; and, after, he ſat meat before him, but he would not eat till the Governor had given thanks, and after meat he deſired him to do the like, and ſo departed." He died, of the ſmall pox, in November, 1633, when that diſorder occaſioned "a great mortality among the Indians," and carried off many of his people. *Winthrop's Journal*, 24, 26, 32, 56.

‖ *Thus ſpelt by Gov. Winthrop.*

the freedom, the patriotiſm, and the piety, of the anceſt of New-England.§

The firſt conſiderable acceſſion to the ſociety appears have been in Auguſt, 1632, when "the Braintree comp: which had begun to ſit down at Mount Woolaſton by der of Court, removed to Newtown. Theſe were I Hooker's company."‖ Mr. Hooker, however, having yet come to New-England, they were ſtill deſtitute of a tled miniſter. But a preparation for the privilege of public miniſtry, and of the ordinances of the goſpel, was immedi

§ This venerable oak ſtood on the northerly ſide of the Commo Cambridge, a little weſt of the road leading to Lexington. The ſtu of it was dug up not many years ſince.

‖ Winthrop's Journal, 42. It is highly probable, that this comp came from Braintree, in Eſſex county, in England, and from its vic ty. Chelmsford, where Mr. Hooker was ſettled, is but eleven m from Braintree: And Mr. Hooker "was ſo eſteemed as a preacl that not only his own people, but others from all parts of the count Eſſex flocked to hear him."—The names of this company, conſtitut the firſt ſettlers of the town of Cambridge, are preſerved in the recc of the Proprietors, under the date of 1632, and are as follow:

Jeremy Adams
Matthew Allen
John Benjamin
Jonathan Boſwell
Mr. Simon Bradſtreet*
John Bridge
Richard Butler
John Clarke
Anthony Couldby, or Colby
Daniel Denniſon
Thomas Dudley, Eſq.
Samuel Dudley
Edward Elmer
Richard Goodman
William Goodwin
Garrad Hadden
Stephen Hart
John Haynes, Eſq.†
Thomas Heate
Rev. Thomas Hooker
Thomas Hoſmer
Richard Harlackenden
William Lewis
Richard Lord
John Maſters
Abraham Morrill
Heſter Muſſey
Simon Oakes
James Olmſted
Capt. Daniel Patrick
John Prat
William Pentrey
Joſeph Redinge
Nathaniel Richards
William Spencer
Thomas Spencer
Edward Stebbins
John Steele
Henry Steele
George Steele
Samuel Stone
John Talcott
William Wadſworth
Andrew Warner
Richard Webb
William Weſtwood
John White.

* *Afterward Governor of Maſſachuſetts.*

† *Afterward Governor of Connecticut. His houſe ſtood on the weſt ſid Market Place. For his character, ſee Trumbull's Hiſtory of Connecticut,* I. 2

immediate and primary object of their pious attention. This year, accordingly, they "built the firſt houſe for public worſhip at Newtown, with a bell upon it."*

The removal of the Governor into Boſton having occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and the Deputy-Governor; "the miniſters, for an end of the difference, ordered, that the Governor ſhould procure them a miniſter at Newtown, and contribute ſome towards his maintenance for a time; or if he could not by the ſpring effect that, then to give the Deputy, towards his charges in building there, £.20." The Governor accepted this order, and promiſed a compliance with it. The Deputy-Governor, however, on the reception of one part of the order, returned it to the Governor, profeſſing ſo full a perſuaſion of the Governor's love to him, and ſo high an eſtimation of it, that "if he had given him £.100, inſtead of £.20, he would not have taken it." Notwithſtanding the variance, which had ſubſiſted between theſe venerable men, "yet they peaceably met about their affairs, without any appearance of any breach or diſcontent; and ever after kept peace and good correſpondency together in love and friendſhip."† The

* Prince, II. 75. This church ſtood on the weſt ſide of Water Street, and ſouth of Spring Street, near the place where theſe ſtreets interſect each other, about 30 rods ſouth of where the congregational church now ſtands.

† Winthrop's Journal.——Governor WINTHROP is characteriſed, by Morton, as "ſingular for piety, wiſdom, and of a public ſpirit; as a man of unbiaſſed juſtice, patience in reſpect of perſonal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the ſaints, eſpecially able miniſters of the goſpel; very ſober in deſiring, and temperate in improving, earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and ſtudious of general good." Dr. Belknap juſtly obſerves, that "he was eminently qualified for the firſt office of government, in which he ſhone with a luſtre, which would have done him honour in a larger ſphere, and a more elevated ſituation. He was the father, as well as governor, of an infant plantation." His houſe, in Boſton, ſtood a few rods north of the Old South church, where the pile of brick ſtores has been recently built. The late John Winthrop, Eſq. Hollis Profeſſor of Math. and Nat. Philoſ. was his deſcendant of the fourth generation; and James and William Winthrop, Eſquires, now living in Cambridge, are deſcendants, of the fifth generation. Gov. Winthrop died in 1649, ætat. LXIII. *Amer. Biog.* II. 337. *Magnalia*, II. 8.

THOMAS DUDLEY, Eſq. is characteriſed as "a man of ſound judgment in matters of religion, and well read, beſtowing much labour that way;

The recent ſettlers of Newtown had, while in Engla attended the miniſtry of the Reverend Thomas Hook who, to eſcape fines and impriſonment for his non-c formity, had now fled into Holland. To enjoy the p ilege of ſuch a paſtor, they were willing to migrate to part of the world. No ſooner, therefore, was he dri from them, than they turned their eyes towards N England. They hoped that, if comfortable ſettleme could be made in this part of America, they might ob him for their paſtor. Immediately after their ſettlem at Newtown, they expreſſed their earneſt deſires to Hooker, that he would come over into New-England, take the paſtoral charge of them. At their deſire he Holland; and, having obtained Mr. Samuel Stone, a lec er at Torceſter in Northamptonſhire, for an aſſiſtant in miniſtry, took his paſſage for America, and arrived Boſton September 4, 1633. With him came over the mous Mr. John Cotton, Mr. John Haynes, afterwards G ernor of Connecticut, Mr. Goff, and two hundred paſ gers of importance to the Colony.* "They got out England with much difficulty, all places being belaid have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had b long ſought for, to have been brought into the High C miſſion; but the maſter being bound to touch at Wight, the purſuants attended there, and the mean t the ſaid miniſters were taken in at the Downs."† Hooker, on his arrival at Boſton, proceeded to Newto where he was received with open arms, by an affectio and pious people. He was now choſen paſtor, and Stone teacher, of the people at Newtown; and on the 1 of October, 1633, after ſolemn faſting and prayer, t were ordained to their reſpective offices.

way; as a lover of juſtice, order, the people, Chriſtian religion—th preme virtues of a good magiſtrate. He was exact in the practice c ety in his perſon and family all his life. He was a principal fou and pillar of the colony of Maſſachuſetts; and, ſeveral times, Gove and Deputy-Governor of that Province. He was a principal fou of the town of Newtown, [Cambridge] being zealous to have it t the metropolis." On Mr. Hooker's removal to Hartford, he rem from Newtown to Ipſwich, and afterward to Roxbury, where he in 1653, ætat. LXXVII.

Wonder working Providence. Morton's Memorial. Prince. Mat

* Trumbull, I. 11. † Winthrop's Journal.

The fame of the removal of theſe eminent men to America invited over vaſt numbers of Puritans, who could not find reſt under Archbiſhop Laud's ſevere adminiſtration; "inſomuch that, for ſeveral years, hardly a veſſel came into theſe parts, but was crowded with paſſengers for New-England."†

An hiſtorian of this early period piouſly notices "the admirable acts of Providence" toward the people of Newtown, in this infancy of their ſettlement. "Although they were in ſuch great ſtraites for foode, that many of them eate their bread by waight, and had little hopes of the earths fruitfullneſſe, yet the Lord Chriſt was pleaſed to refreſh their ſpirits with ſuch quickning grace, and lively affections to this temple-worke, that they did not deſert the place. And that which was more remarkable, when they had ſcarce houſes to ſhelter themſelves, and no doores to hinder the Indians acceſſe to all they had in them; yet did the Lord ſo awe their hearts, that although they frequented the Engliſhmens places of aboade, where their whole ſubſtance, weake wives and little ones lay open to their plunder, during their abſence, being whole dayes at Sabbath-Aſſemblies, yet had they none of their food or ſtuffe diminiſhed, neither children nor wives hurt in the leaſt meaſure, although the Indians came commonly to them, at thoſe times, much hungry belly (as they uſe to ſay) and were then in number and ſtrength beyond the Engliſh by far."*

As early as May, 1634, it appears that the number of inhabitants at Newtown had become diſproportioned to the townſhip. "Thoſe of Newtown," ſays Governor Winthrop, "complained of ſtraitneſs for want of land, eſpecially meadow, and deſired leave of the Council to look out either for enlargement or removal, which was granted; whereupon they ſent men to ſee Agawam [Ipſwich] and Merrimack, and gave out they would remove."‡ In July, ſix inhabitants of Newtown went paſſengers in a veſſel "bound to the Dutch plantation, to diſcover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither."§

At the General Court, which ſat at Newtown in September,

† Neal. * Wonder-working Providence.
‡ Winthrop's Journal. § Ibid.

ber, " many things were agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Caſtle-Iſland, Dorcheſter and Charleſtown; with divers other matters. But the main buſineſs, which ſpent the moſt time, and cauſed the adjourning of the Court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave the laſt General Court to look out for ſome place for enlargement or removal, with promiſe of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation; and now they moved that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut." The ſubject was largely and warmly debated; " the whole Colony being affected with the diſpute." When the queſtion was put to vote, fifteen of the Deputies voted for leave of departure, and ten againſt it; the Governor and two Aſſiſtants voted for it; but the Deputy-Governor, with all the other Aſſiſtants, voted againſt it; ſo a legal act could not be obtained. Hence aroſe a great difference between the Governor and Aſſiſtants, and the Deputies, concerning the negative voice. " So when they could proceed no further, the whole Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to ſeek the Lord," which was kept, accordingly, in all the congregations. The Court met again ſoon after; but before it proceeded to buſineſs, Mr. Cotton (on Mr. Hooker's declining) preached from Hag. ii. 4. " And it pleaſed the Lord ſo to aſſiſt him, and to bleſs his own ordinance, that the affairs of the Court went on cheerfully;—and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted ſuch enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boſton and Watertown."* This firſt enlargement was, doubtleſs, in breadth, to the ſouthward and weſtward. When the firſt ſettlers erected " the New Town," between Charleſtown and Watertown, it was " in forme like a liſt cut off from the broad-cloath of the two fore-named towns."†

The people of Newtown manifeſting a perſevering determination to remove into Connecticut, and thoſe of ſome neighbouring towns concurring, at the ſame time, in the wiſh and project of removal to other places; the General Court, in May, 1635, gave them leave to remove whither they pleaſed, on condition that they ſhould continue under the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſetts.

In October, Mr. Thomas Shepard, whoſe name holds a conſpicuous

* Winthrop's Journal, 70. † Wonder-working Providence, 61.

conſpicuous place in the annals of New-England, arrived at Boſton, together with the people who were to form his paſtoral charge. On the firſt of February, 1636, the firſt permanent church was gathered at Newtown. Mr. Shepard, and "divers other good chriſtians," intending to form a church, communicated their deſign to the magiſtrates, who gave their approbation. Application was alſo made to all the neighbouring churches, "for their elders to give their aſſiſtance at a certain day at Newtown, when they ſhould conſtitute their body." A great aſſembly accordingly convened, and the church was organized in a public and ſolemn manner.* The ordination of Mr. Shepard probably took place ſoon after this organization of the church; but the preciſe time cannot now be aſcertained. "It was deferred," ſays Dr. Mather, "until another day, wherein there was more time to go through the other ſolemnities proper to ſuch an occaſion."

Early in the ſummer of 1636, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women, and children, compoſing the whole of Mr. Hooker's church and congregation, left Newtown; and travelled above a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackleſs wilderneſs, to Connecticut. "They had no guide but their compaſs; made their way over mountains, through ſwamps, thickets and rivers, which were not paſſable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but thoſe which ſimple nature afforded them."†

They

* For the form of the organization of this church, and the religious exerciſes on the occaſion, ſee Winthrop's Journal, 95, 96. This was the eleventh church, gathered in Maſſachuſetts. The order of the churches was as follows:

The firſt church was gathered	at Salem,	in the year	1629
The ſecond - - -	at Charleſtown,	- -	1631
The third - - -	at Dorcheſter,	- -	1631
The fourth - - - -	at Boſton,	- - -	1631
The fifth - - - - -	at Roxbury,	- - -	1631
The ſixth - - - - -	at Linn,	- - -	1631
The ſeventh - - - - -	at Watertown,	- -	1631
The *eighth* (Mr. Hooker's)	at Newtown, [Cambridge]		1633
The ninth - - - - -	at Ipſwich,	- - -	1634
The tenth - - - - -	at Newbury,	- - -	1634
The *eleventh* (Mr. Shepard's)	at Newtown, [Cambridge]		1636

† Trumbull, I. 55. Winthrop's Journal, 100.

They drave with them 160 cattle, and ſubſiſted on the milk of their cows, during the journey. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter. This little company laid the foundation of Hartford, now a very flouriſhing city in Connecticut.

Their removal was very opportune for Mr. Shepard and his company, who purchaſed the dwelling-houſes and lands, which they had owned at Newtown; and thus enjoyed the advantage (which fell to the lot of few of the early coloniſts) of entering a ſettlement already cultivated, and furniſhed with comfortable accommodations.

This year (1636) the General Court contemplated the erection of a Public School at Newtown, and appropriated four hundred pounds for that purpoſe; which laid the foundation of Harvard College.*

Mrs. Anne Hutchinſon, a very extraordinary woman, commencing a religious teacher, about this time, and holding lectures for the propagation of her peculiar tenets, attracted a numerous audience, and gained many adherents. "The whole Colony was ſoon divided into two parties, differing in ſentiment, and ſtill more alienated in affection. They ſtiled each other Antinomians and Legaliſts."† Such was the warmth of the controverſy, that it was judged adviſable to call a Synod to give their opinion on the controverted points. A Synod was accordingly holden at Newtown on the 30th of Auguſt, 1637, at which "all the teaching elders through the country," and meſſengers of the ſeveral churches, were preſent. The magiſtrates, too, attended as hearers, and ſpake occaſionally, as they ſaw fit. Of this Synod Mr. Shepard, who opened it with prayer, "was no ſmall part."‡ After a ſeſſion of three weeks, the Synod condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions, which had become diſſeminated in New-England. The proceedings of this Synod appear to have been conducted with fairneſs and ability. "Liberty

* "After God had carried us ſafe to New-England, and wee had builded our houſes, provided neceſſaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for God's worſhip, and ſettled the civill government: One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to poſterity: dreading to leave an illiterate miniſtry to the churches, when our preſent miniſters ſhall lie in the duſt." *New-England's Firſt Fruits, publiſhed in* 1643.

† Adams's Hiſtory of New-England.

‡ C. Mather.

erty was given to any man to diſpute *pro* or *con*, and none to be charged to be of that opinion he diſputed for, unleſſe he ſhould declare himſelfe ſo to be.—The clearing of the true ſenſe and meaning of any place of ſcripture, it was done by ſcripture." An hiſtorian, who lived at that period, ſays: "Foure ſorts of perſons I could with a good will have paid their paſſage out, and home againe to England, that they might have been preſent at this Synod, ſo that they would have reported the truth of all the paſſages thereof to their own Colledges at their return." Theſe were "the Prelates"; "the godly and reverend Preſbyterian party"; "thoſe who with their new ſtratagems have brought in ſo much old error"; and "thoſe who derided all ſorts of ſcholarſhip."§

The vigilance of Mr. Shepard was bleſt for the preſervation of his own church, and of the other New-England churches, from the Antinomian and Familiſtical errors, which began at this time to prevail: "And," according to Dr. Mather, "it was with reſpect to this vigilancy, and the enlightening and powerful miniſtry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a *College* was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the ſeat of that happy ſeminary."*

A contemporary hiſtorian cloſes "the diſmall yeare of ſixteene hundred thirty-ſix," with the following ſtory, illuſtrative, at once, of Mr. Shepard's preaching talents, and of the ſpirit of his times. A perſon, who had come to New-England, "hoping to finde the powerful preſence of Chriſt in the preaching of the word," was encountered, at his firſt landing, by ſome of Mrs. Hutchinſon's diſciples, who were zealous to proſelyte him to their doctrine. Finding that "hee could not ſkill in that new light, which was the common theame of every man's diſcourſe," he betooke himſelf to a narrow Indian path, which ſoon led him "where none but fenceleſſe trees and echoing rocks make anſwer to his heart-eaſeing mone." After a perplexed and pathetic ſoliloquy, in this deep receſs, he formed a reſolution "to hear ſome one of theſe able miniſters preach, whom

§ Wonder-working Providence.

* Magnalia, III. 87. Wonder-working Providence, 164.

whom report had ſo valued," before he would "mak choice of one principle," or "croſs the broade ſeas bac againe. Then turning his face to the ſun, he ſteered h courſe toward the next town, and after ſome ſmall trave hee came to a large plaine. No ſooner was hee entre thereon, but hearing the ſound of a drum, he was directe toward it by a broade beaten way." Following this roa he enquired of the firſt perſon he met, what the ſignal the drum meant. The anſwer was, "they had as yet n bell to call men to meeting, and therefore made uſe of drum."* Who lectures, ſaid he, at this town? "I ſ you are a ſtranger, new come over," replied the othe "ſince you know not the man. It is one Mr. Shepard. "I am new come over," ſaid the ſtranger, "and have bee told ſince I came, that moſt of your miniſters are lega preachers, onely if I miſtake not they told me th man preached a finer covenant of works than the othe However, I ſhall make what haſte I can to hear him. Fa you well." Haſtening to the place, he preſſed through th thickeſt crowd into the church, "where having ſtaye while the glaſſe was turned up twice, the man was met morphoſed." He was frequently melted into tears, durin the ſervice, and overwhelmed with gratitude to God, who "bleſſed ſpirit cauſed the ſpeech of a poore weake pale con plectioned man to take ſuch impreſſion in his ſoul." Th preacher "applied the word ſo aptly, as if hee had bee his privy counſeller; cleering Chriſts worke of grace i the ſoule from all thoſe falſe doctrines, which the erroniou party had afrighted him withall." Finding that there w here not only a zeal "for the truth of the diſcipline, bu alſo of the doctrine," of the goſpel, "he now reſolves (th Lord willing) to live and die with the miniſters of New England."†

The Reverend John Harvard, of Charleſtown, in 163 added to the ſum, appropriated by the Legiſlature to th publ

* The town records confirm Mr. Prince's account, that t church had a bell at firſt; for they ſhew that the town meetin were then called by the ringing of the bell. A drum, for what reaſ does not now appear, was afterwards ſubſtituted in its place; for I fi an order of the townſmen, in 1646, for the payment of fifty ſhillin to a man "for his ſervice to the towne, in beating the drum."

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XLIII.

public ſchool at Newtown, about eight hundred pounds. Thus endowed, this ſchool was exalted to a college, and aſſumed the name of its principal Benefactor: and *Newtown*, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of our fathers received their education, was now denominated CAMBRIDGE.

In 1639, the firſt printing preſs, erected in New-England, was ſet up at Cambridge, "by one Daye at the charge of Mr. Glover," who died on his paſſage to America.* The firſt thing which was printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanack made for New-England by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Pſalms newly turned into metre.†

The eccleſiaſtical fathers of New-England, diſſatisfied with Sternhold and Hopkins' verſion of the Pſalms, then in common uſe, reſolved on a new verſion. Some of the principal Divines in the country, among whom were Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorcheſter, undertook the work. Aiming, as they well expreſſed it, to have "a plain tranſlation, rather than to ſmooth their verſes with the ſweetneſs of any paraphraſe;" and

* "The Reverend and judicious Mr. Joſ. Glover, being able both in perſon and eſtate for the work, provided, for further compleating the colonies, in church and commonwealth, a printer," &c. *Wonder-working Providence*, X.—Mrs. Glover (probably the relict of this gentleman) bought Gov. Haines' houſe and eſtate, ſituated at Market Place, in Cambridge, in 1639.

Nothing of Daye's printing is to be found. The preſs was very early in the poſſeſſion of Mr. SAMUEL GREENE, who was an inhabitant of Cambridge, in 1639, and who is conſidered as the *firſt Printer* in America. His deſcendants, in every ſucceſſion to this day, have maintained the honour of the typographic art. The preſent printers, of that name, at New-London, and New-Haven, in Connecticut, are of his poſterity. The firſt preſs was in uſe at Cambridge, about half a century. The laſt thing I can find, which iſſued from it, is the ſecond edition of Eliot's Indian Bible, in 1685. Some reliques of this preſs, I am informed, are ſtill in uſe, in the printing office at Windſor, in Vermont.

Mr. Samuel Hall, printer to the Hiſtorical Society, printed the New-England Chronicle at Cambridge, from the commencement of the revolutionary war, in 1775, to the removal of the American army from Cambridge. A new printing preſs was ſet up in this town, the preſent year, by Mr. William Hilliard, a ſon of my worthy predeceſſor in the miniſtry.

† Winthrop's Journal.

and regarding "conſcience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry," their verſion, it ſeems, was too crude to ſatisfy the taſte of an age, neither highly refined, nor remarkably critical. Hence, Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, addreſſed them with this monitory verſe:

"Ye *Roxbury* poets, keep clear of the crime
Of miſſing to give us very good rhyme:
And you of *Dorcheſter* your verſes lengthen,
But with the texts own words you will them ſtrengthen."

This Verſion was printed at Cambridge in 1640: but requiring, as it was judged, "a little more art," it was committed to Preſident Dunſter, a great maſter of the oriental languages, who, with ſome aſſiſtance, reviſed and refined it, and brought it into that ſtate in which the churches of New-England uſed it for many ſubſequent years.*

In 1639, the town ordered, that ſome perſon, choſen for the purpoſe, ſhould regiſter every birth, marriage, and burial, and, "according to the order of the Court, in that caſe provided, give it in once evrie yeare to be delivered by the deputies to the Recorder."

In 1641, (Dec. 13) the town choſe two men, whom they directed to "take care for the making of the towne ſpring, againſt Mr. Dunſter's houſe, a ſufficient well, with timber and ſtone fit for the uſe of man, and wattering of cattel."‡

In 1642, according to an order of the laſt General Court, "for the townſmen to ſee to the educating children," the town was divided into ſix parts, and a perſon appointed for each diviſion, "to take care of all the families" it contained.

The firſt Commencement was holden at Cambridge in 1642, at which time nine Students took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.§ "They were young men of good hope

* The Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boſton, obſerved, that, when he was in England, in 1717, he found this Verſion "was by ſome eminent congregations there preferred to all others in their public worſhip." find the eighteenth edition of this Verſion printed with the Bible Edinburgh, in 1741; and the twenty-third (I ſuppoſe New-England edition printed at Boſton, in 1730. The Rev. Mr. Prince reviſed an improved this New-England Verſion, in 1758.

‡ May not this be the town well, ſtill in uſe, a little ſouthweſterly of the firſt church?

§ There are now one hundred and ninety-one Students in this ancient and very reſpectable ſeminary; and, for ſeveral preceding years, there

hope, and performed their acts ſo as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts."* Moſt of the members of the General Court were now preſent, "and dined at the college with the ſcholars ordinary commons, which was done of purpoſe for the ſtudents encouragement—and it gave good content to all."†

In 1643, the General Court,—which had previouſly committed the government of the College to all the magiſtrates, and the miniſters of the three neareſt churches, with the preſident,—paſſed an act for the well ordering and managing of Harvard College, by which all the magiſtrates, and the teaching elders of the ſix neareſt towns, [Cambridge, Watertown, Charleſtown, Boſton, Roxbury, and Dorcheſter] and the preſident for the time being, were appointed to be forever governors of this Seminary. They met at Cambridge, for the firſt time, by virtue of this Act, on the 27th of December, 1643, "conſidered of the officers of the college, and choſe a treaſurer."‡

How early the Grammar School was eſtabliſhed at Cambridge does not appear: but it ſeems to have been nearly coeval with the town, and to have been an object of great care and attention. As early as 1643, a writer obſerves: "By the ſide of the Colledge is a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young ſchollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that ſtill as they are judged ripe, they

have been upwards of two hundred. Since the year 1642, there have

graduated at this College - - - - - - - -	3674
Of whom have died - - - - - - - - -	2113
Now living - - - - - - - - - - -	1561
The whole number of miniſters who have graduated here, is	1158
Of which number have died - - - - - - -	787
Now living - - - - - - - - - - -	371

The obſervations of Mr. Oakes are worthy of perpetual regard: "Think not that the Commonwealth of Learning may languiſh, and yet our Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State be maintained in good plight and condition. The wiſdom and foreſight, and care for future times, of our firſt Leaders was in nothing more conſpicuous and admirable, than in the planting of that Nurſery: and New-England is enjoying the ſweet fruit of it. It becomes all our faithful and worthy Patriots that tread in their ſteps, to water what they have planted."

Addreſs to the General Court, in his Election Sermon, 1673.

* Winthrop's Journal. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

they may be received into the Colledge of this ſchoole: Maſter Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himſelf for his abilities, dexterity and painfulneſſe in teaching and education of the youths under him."†

This ſchool, ſome years after, received a liberal donation from Edward Hopkins,‡ Eſquire, Governor of Connecticut, who died in England, in 1657. This charitable and pious man gave, by his laſt will, the principal part of his eſtate to his father-in-law, Theophilus Eaton, Eſquire, and others, "in full aſſurance of their truſt and faithfulneſs in diſpoſing of it, according to" his "true intent and purpoſe." This purpoſe is declared to be, "to give ſome encouragement in thoſe Foreign Plantations, for the breeding up of hopeful Youth in a way of learning both at the Grammar School and College, for the public ſervice of the Country in future times." Five hundred pounds of his eſtate in England, appropriated to the college and grammar ſchool in Cambridge, were laid out in real eſtate in the town of Hopkinton, and now conſtitute a reſpectable fund. Three fourths of the income of this eſtate are applied, according to the inſtruction of the will of the donor, to the maintenance of five reſident Bachelors of arts, at Harvard College, and the other fourth "to the Maſter of Cambridge Grammar School, in conſideration of his inſtructing in Grammar Learning

† New-England's Firſt Fruits. See Coll. of Hiſt. Soc. L 243. Mr. Corlet appears to have been a man of learning, of piety, and reſpectability; and it is to the honour of Cambridge, that, in the infancy of the town, great exertions were made for his ſteady and permanent ſupport. He was maſter of the Grammar School, in this town, between 40 and 50 years. He had the tuition of the Indian ſcholars, who were deſigned for the College, and, "for his extraordinary paines in teaching" them, received compenſation from the Society for propagating the Goſpel. In the accounts, tranſmitted from New-England to that Society, he is repeatedly, and very honourably, mentioned. [See Hazard's Hiſt. Coll. II.] Dr. C. Mather (who has inſerted in his Magnalia a biographical ſketch of the Rev. Mr. Hooker, drawn by Mr. Corlet) ſtyles him "that memorable old School-maſter in Cambridge; from whoſe education," he adds, "our College and Country has received ſo many of its worthy men, that he is himſelf worthy to have his name celebrated in our Church Hiſtory."

‡ See his character in Trumbull's Hiſt. Connect. I. 241.

Learning five boys,§ nominated by the Preſident and Fellows of Harvard College, and the Miniſter of Cambridge for the time being, who are, by the Will, conſtituted "Viſitors of the ſaid School." They make an annual viſitation, the week before the commencement, "to ſee that ſo many children are taught," and that they "give proof of their proficiency in learning." Two ſhillings on the pound, or a tenth part as much as each Bachelor receives, is applied to "buy books and reward the induſtry of ſuch under-graduates, as diſtinguiſh themſelves by their application to their ſtudies."

In 1644, Mr. Daniel Gookin removed from Virginia, with his family, and ſettled at Cambridge; "being drawn hither by having his affection ſtrongly ſet on the truths of Chriſt and his pure ordinances."† His arrival was very opportune for the Reverend Mr. Eliot, the Indian apoſtle, who was now preparing himſelf for his great work of evangelizing the Indians. Mr. Gookin, animated with an apoſtolical zeal for the promotion of this pious deſign, vigorouſly co-operated with Mr. Eliot, in its execution. He himſelf informs us,* that Mr. Eliot "was his neighbour, and intimate friend, at the time when he firſt attempted this enterprize," and communicated to him his deſign. In Mr. Eliot's evangelizing viſits to the Indians, Mr. Gookin ſo often accompanied him, that he is ſaid to have been "his conſtant, pious and perſevering companion."‡ In 1646,

§ The Legiſlature of Maſſachuſetts has made ſuch an addition to this very uſeful fund, that ſix bachelors may now reſide at the College, and ſeven boys be inſtructed at the Grammar School.

† Wonder-working Providence. Magnal. III. 120.

* Hiſt. Collect. of the Indians in New-England.

‡ Homer's Hiſt. of Newtown, in Coll. of Hiſt. Soc. vol. V. 253.—Soon after Mr. Gookin's arrival, he was appointed captain of the military company in Cambridge; and a member of the houſe of deputies. In 1652, he was elected aſſiſtant; and, four years after, was appointed by the General Court ſuperintendant of all the Indians, who had ſubmitted to the government of Maſſachuſetts; in which office he appears to have continued, with little interruption, till his death. In 1662, he was appointed, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Mitchel, one of the licenſers of the printing-preſs in Cambridge. In 1681, he was appointed major-general of the Colony. He is characterized by the writers, who mention his name, as a man of good underſtanding, rigid in his religious and

1646, Mr. Eliot, having acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, began to preach to the Indians at Nonantum, then lying within the limits of Cambridge. From this time, for many years afterward, great pains were taken, and large ſums expended, to educate Indian youth for the miniſtry. Several were maintained, a number of years, at the grammar ſchool, with a view to the completion of their education at the college in Cambridge. Such, at this early period, was the zeal of our pious anceſtors for the chriſtianization of the Indians, and ſo ſanguine were their hopes of rendering the Indian youth auxiliary to the deſign, that, in 1665, a brick edifice, 30 feet long, and 20 feet broad, was

and political principles, but zealous and active, of inflexible integrity, and exemplary piety, diſintereſted and benevolent, a firm patriot, and above all, uniformly friendly to the Indians, who lamented his death with unfeigned ſorrow. He died in 1687—a poor man. But, ſuch was the eſtimation of his character and ſervices, that a decent monument was erected over his grave. It ſtands on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the burying-ground in Cambridge, and has this inſcription :

Here lyeth intered
the body of Major Gen!
Daniel Gookins aged 75 yeares
who departed this life ye 19 of March
1686—7

Mr. Eliot's apoſtolical labours among the Indians are juſtly celebrated in Europe and America. His Indian bible will remain a perpetual monument of his patient diligence, and pious zeal. " The whole tranſlation," Dr. C. Mather ſays, " he writ with but one pen." The firſt edition of it was publiſhed as early, at leaſt, as the year 1668, and a ſecond in 1685. Both editions were printed at Cambridge. The title of this bible is :

Mamuſſe
Wunneetupanatamwe
UP-BIBLUM GOD
Naneeſwe
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
Kah Wonk
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

The *Lord's Prayer* is as follows :

Nooſhun keſukqut, quttianatamunach kooweſuonk. Peyaumoouch kukketaſſootamóonk nen nach ohkeit neane keſukqut. Nummetch ſuongaſh aſekêſukokiſh aſſamainneau yenyeu keſukok. Kah ahquontamaiinnean nummatcheſeongaſh neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontamôunnonog. Ahquc ſagkompagunaiinnean en qutchhuaongaſh webe pohquohwuſſinnean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtaunn ketaſſóotamoonk, kah menuhkeſuonk, kah ſohſumóonk micheme. Amen.

was erected at Cambridge, for an Indian College. Several Indians entered college, of whom, however, one§ only ever attained the academical honours. "The deſign," ſays Mr. Gookin, "was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual."—"The awful providences of God, in fruſtrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth, who were deſigned to be for teachers unto their countrymen," are noticed, with great ſenſibility, by this hiſtorian,‡ who, amidſt all diſcouragements, retained his zeal for the promotion of this pious deſign, till the very cloſe of his life.

A Bill having been preferred to the General Court in 1646, for the calling of a Synod, for the purpoſe of compoſing and publiſhing a platform of church-diſcipline, a "motion" was made by the Court to the churches, to aſſemble ſuch a ſynod. It was, accordingly, convened at Cambridge that year, and protracted its ſeſſion, by adjournments, till 1648. This ſynod compoſed and adopted the *Platform of Church-Diſcipline*, called "The Cambridge Platform," which, together with the Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith, it recommended to the General Court, and to the churches. The churches of New-England, in general, acceded to this platform for more than thirty years: and it was recognized and confirmed by a ſynod at Boſton, in 1679.*

The thriving ſtate of the herds,† belonging to this town, together

§ Caleb Cheeſcaumuck, (anciently written Cheeſhahteaumuck) in 1665.

‡ Gookin's Hiſtorical Collections, chap. V.

* Adams's Hiſt. of N. England. Neal's Hiſt. of N. England, II. 33.

† By an eſtimate of the number of perſons, and of the eſtate, in Cambridge, taken by the Townſmen, [Seleƈtmen] by order of the General Court, in 1647, it appears, that there were then in town,

Perſons (rateable)	135	
Houſes	90	
Cows, (valued at £.9 pr. head)	208	
Oxen, (at £.6 pr. head)	131	
Young cattle	229	
Total head of cattle		568
Horſes, (at £.7 pr. head)	20	
Sheep, (at £.1 10 pr. head)	37	
Swine, (at £.1 pr. head)	62	
Goats, (at 8s. pr. head)	58	

together with the confidence repoſed in *Waban*‡ (an influential Indian, recently converted to chriſtianity by the apoſtolic Eliot) appear in the following compact, dated April 12, 1647: "Bargained with Waban, the Indian, for to keepe about *ſix ſcore heade* of dry cattle on the ſouth ſide of Charles River, and he is to have the full ſome of eight pound, to be paid as followeth, viz. 30ˢ. to James Cutler, and the reſt in Indian corne at 3 ſh. buſhel, after michel-tide next.—He is to bargain to take care of them the 21 day of this preſent month, and to keepe them untill 3 weeks after michelmas; and if any be loſt or ill, he is to ſend word unto the towne, and if any ſhall be loſt through his careleſſneſs he is to pay according to the value of the beaſt for his defect. his ⌣ mark.

Waban."

In 1648, "it was agreed, at a generall meeting, when the whole towne had ſpeciall warneing to meete for the diſpoſeing of Shawſhine, that there ſhould be a farme layde out, of a thouſand acres, to be for a publick ſtocke, and improved for the good of the Church, and that part of the Church that here ſhall continue; and every perſon or perſons, that ſhall from time to time remove from the Church, doe hereby reſigne up theire intereſt therein to the remaineing part of the Church of Cambridge." *

The ſame year, it was ordered, "That there ſhall be an eight peny ordnary provided for the Townſmen [Selectmen] every ſecond munday of the month upon there meeteing day; and that whoſoever of the Townſmen faile to be preſent within half an houre of the ringing of the bell (which ſhall be half an houre after eleven of the clocke) he ſhall both loſe his dinner, and pay a pint of ſacke, or the value, to the preſent Townſmen."

Among the town-officers for the following year, three commiſſioners were choſen, "to end ſmall cauſes under forty ſhillings."

Mr. Shepard died in 1649, and was ſucceeded in the miniſtry

‡ Waban lived at Nonantum, a part of Cambridge Village, now Newton. When Mr. Eliot made his firſt evangelizing viſit, Oct. 28, 1646, "Waban met him at a ſmall diſtance from the ſettlement, and welcomed him to a large wigwam on the hill Nonantum;" and became one of the firſt fruits of his miſſion. *Homer's Hiſt. of Newton.*

* Town Records.

miniſtry by the Reverend Jonathan Mitchel. In the interval between Mr. Shepard's death, and Mr. Mitchel's ordination, the pulpit was ſupplied by Preſident Dunſter, and Mr. Richard Lyon, who lived at the Preſident's in the capacity of a private tutor to an Engliſh ſtudent.

A vote of the town to repair the old church "with a 4 ſquare roofe, and covered with ſhingle," paſſed Feb. 18, 1650, was reſcinded, in March; and the committee, now ordered to "deſiſt from repairing" the old houſe, was inſtructed to "agree with workmen for the building of a new houſe, about forty foot ſquare, and covered as was formerly agreed for the other. It was alſo then voted, and generally agreed, that the new meeting-houſe ſhall ſtand on the Watch houſe hill." This is believed to be the hill on which the preſent congregational church ſtands. The ſecond church was, doubtleſs, erected about this time; for, in February, 1651, the town voted, "That the Townſmen ſhall make ſale of the land whereon the old meeting-houſe ſtood."

In 1650, the General Court gave the College its firſt charter, appointing a Corporation, conſiſting of the Preſident, five Fellows, and the Treaſurer. This board, and that previouſly mentioned, *now* denominated the board of Overſeers, conſtitute the legiſlature of Harvard Univerſity.*

Cambridge appears, at this time, to have beſtowed ſome attention on navigation; for an early hiſtorian mentions "a ſhip, built and ſet forth by the inhabitants of Cambridge,"

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* Presidents of Harvard University.

Acceſs.		*Exit.*
1640	Rev. Henry Dunſter, reſigned	1654
1654	Rev. Charles Chauncy, died	1672
1672	Rev. Leonard Hoar, M. D. reſigned	1675
1675	Rev. Urian Oakes, A. M. died	1681
1682	John Rogers, A. M. died	1684
1685	Increaſe Mather, S. T. D. reſigned	1701
1701	Rev. Samuel Willard, A. M. Vice-Preſident, died	1707
1708	Hon. John Leverett, A. M. S. R. S. died	1724
1725	Rev. Benjamin Wadſworth, A. M. died	1737
1737	Rev. Edward Holyoke, A. M. died	1769
1770	Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D. reſigned	1773
1774	Rev. Samuel Langdon, S. T. D. reſigned	1780
1781	Rev. Joſeph Willard, S. T. D. L. L. D.	

bridge," in 1649, as being "ſplit and caſt away." The ſame hiſtorian, who compoſed his hiſtory in 1652, ſays of Cambridge: "This town is compact cloſely within itſelfe, till of late yeares ſome few ſtragling houſes have been built. The liberties of this town have been inlarged of late in length, reaching from the moſt northerly part of *Charles* river, to the moſt ſoutherly part of *Merrimeck* river.* It hath well ordered ſtreets and comly compleated with the faire building of Harvard Colledge.——The people of this Church and Towne have hitherto had the chiefeſt ſhare in ſpirituall bleſſings, the miniſtry of the word by more than ordinary inſtruments:—Yet are they at this day in a thriving condition in outward things, alſo both corne and cattell, neate, and ſheepe, of which they have a good flocke, which the Lord hath cauſed to thrive much in theſe latter dayes than formerly." †

The firſt licenſe for an inn, in Cambridge, appears to have been given in 1652, when "the townſmen granted liberty to Andrew Belcher, to ſell beare and bread, for entertainment of ſtrangers, and the good of the towne." ‡

The inhabitants of Cambridge Village had become ſo numerous, by the year 1656, as to form a diſtinct congregation for public worſhip; and an annual abatement was made of "the one halfe of their proportion to the miniſtryes allowance, dureing the time they were provided of an able miniſter according to law." §

The ſame year, the inhabitants of Cambridge conſented to pay each his proportion of a rate to the ſum of £.200, "towards the building a bridge over Charles River." ‖ A bridge was erected, about the year 1660, and, for many years,

* Cambridge appears, in the firſt inſtance, to have contained merely a ſufficient tract of land for a fortified town. Hence the early tendency of its inhabitants to emigration. By this ſecond enlargement, it appears to have included the territory conſtituting the principal part of the preſent townſhip of *Billerica*, and the whole townſhip of *Lexington*; the former of which was incorporated May 29, 1655, and the latter, March 20, 1712. Cambridge Village was incorporated, by the name of *Newton*, December 8, 1691.

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XXVIII.

‡ Town Records.

§ Town Records. The firſt church in Cambridge Village [now Newton] was gathered July 20, 1664.

‖ Town Records.

years, was called "The Great Bridge." Not long after its erection, it was ordered that it ſhould be "layd in oyle and lead."*

About this time, there was built in the town, "a houſe of correction;" which, in conjunction with other facts, indicates the early care of our anceſtors to repreſs idleneſs and vice, and to encourage induſtry and economy. In 1656, certain perſons were appointed by the ſelectmen, to execute the order of the General Court, for the improvement of all the families within the limitts of this towne, in ſpinning and cloathing."† The year following, James Hubbard had "liberty granted him to fell ſome ſmall timber on the common, for the making him a loome."‡

Orchards muſt have been ſucceſsfully cultivated, as early as the year 1662; for Mr. Mitchel was then "granted a tree for a cider preſſe;" and James Hubbard "timber for fencing his orchard."‖

In September, 1665, five Mohawk Indians, "all ſtout and luſty young men," came, in the afternoon, into the houſe of Mr. John Taylor, in Cambridge. They were ſeen to come out of a ſwamp not far from the houſe. Each of them had a firelock gun, a piſtol, a helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about his neck, and a pack, well furniſhed with powder, and bullets, and other neceſſary implements. The family giving immediate notice to the authority of the town, a conſtable, with a party of men, came to the houſe, and ſeized them without any reſiſtance, and, by authority, committed them to priſon. The Engliſh had heard much of the Mohawks, but had never ſeen any of them before. "At their being impriſoned, and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected; but, as the manner of thoſe Indians is, they ſang night and day, when they were awake." Within a day or two after, they were removed from Cambridge to Boſton priſon, and were repeatedly examined by the Court, then in ſeſſion. They alleged that they came not with any intention to do the leaſt harm to the Engliſh, but to avenge themſelves of the Indians, their enemies. The Court, at length,

* A phraſe, ſuppoſed to mean "painted."

† Town Records. ‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

length, diſmiſſed them, with a letter to their chief ſachem, the purport of which was, to forbid the Mohawks, for the future, to kill any of the Indians under the protection of the Engliſh, and to come armed into any of the Engliſh towns. With this letter, and a convoy of horſe to conduct them into the woods, clear of the Indians, their enemies, they were diſmiſſed, and were heard of no more.*

To the moral and religious education of the children and youth in Cambridge, there appears to have been a regular and ſyſtematic attention. In 1668, ſome of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants were choſen "for katechiſeing the youth of this towne."†

Mr. Mitchel died in 1668. "At a public meeting of the Church and Town," in 1669, "to conſider of ſupply for the miniſtry, it was agreed, That there ſhould be a houſe bought or built, to entertain a miniſter."‡ For this purpoſe, the pariſh, the ſame year, ſold "the church's farm," of ſix hundred acres, in Shawſhin, (Billerica) for £.230 ſterling. Four acres of land were, ſoon after, purchaſed; on which, in 1670, a houſe was erected thirty-ſix feet long, and thirty feet wide, "this houſe to remaine the church's, and to be the dwelling place of ſuch a miniſter and officer, as the Lord ſhall be pleaſed to ſupply us withall, during the time he ſhall ſupply that place amongſt us."‖

The Church and Society now invited Mr. William Stoughton* to become their miniſter; "but they were denied."

* Gookin's Hiſt. Collect. † Church Records. ‡ Ibid.

‖ Church Records. All the miniſters, ſince Mr. Mitchel, have reſided at the Parſonage. The front part of the preſent houſe, at the Parſonage, was built in 1720.

* The Honourable William Stoughton, Eſquire, was a preacher of the goſpel for ſeveral years. His Sermon, at the annual Election, has been ranked among the very beſt, delivered on that occaſion. His Epitaph (which Mr. Clap, the late venerable town-clerk of Dorcheſter, told me, in his cautious manner, he believed *may have been* written by the Rev. Mr. Mather, of Dorcheſter) aſcribes to him theſe traits:

Religione Sanctus,
Virtute clarus,
Doctrina Celebris,
Ingenio Acutus,

— — — — —

Impietatis & Vitii Hoſtis acerrimus.
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,
Hunc Pii venerantur Auſterum.

With

denied."—"After ſome time of ſeeking God by prayer, the Lord was pleaſed to guide the church to make their application to Mr. Urian Oakes in Old England." Mr. William Manning was ſent as a meſſenger with a letter from the church, and with another letter "ſent by ſeveral Magiſtrates and Miniſters, to invite him to come over and be an officer amongſt them."† Mr. Oakes accepted the invitation, came to America, and was inducted into office, in 1671. In 1675, he was invited to the preſidency of Harvard College, and was inducted into that office the ſame year. The charge of his flock, however, he did not entirely relinquiſh till his death.

In 1675, the ſelectmen appointed certain perſons "to have inſpection into familyes, that theare be noe by drinking or any miſdemenor whereby ſine is committed, and perſons from theare houſes unſeaſonably."‡

At a town meeting, in 1676, called "to conſider about fortifieing of the towne againſt the Indians," it was judged neceſſary, "that ſomething bee done for the fencing in the towne with a ſtockade, or ſume thing equivalent." Materials were, accordingly, prepared: but king Philip's war being ſoon after terminated, the town ordered that the ſelectmen ſhould "improve the timber, that was brought for the fortification, for the repairing of the Great Bridge."* This bridge was rebuilt in 1690, at the expence of Cambridge and Newton, with ſome aid from the public treaſury.

The extent of the town, and the provident and pious attention of its inhabitants to the ſupport of the miniſtry, appear by a vote of January 8, 1682: "That 500 acres of the remote lands, lying between Woburn, Concord, and our head line, ſhall be laid out for the uſe and benefit of the miniſtry of this town and place, and to remain for that uſe forever."§

Mr.

With theſe excellent qualifications, however, he was never ſettled in the miniſtry. But, in civil life, he was eminently uſeful to the Commonwealth. He was repeatedly choſen its Lieut. Governor; and, for ſome years, was Commander in chief. He was a generous benefactor to Harvard College. Stoughton Hall was erected at his expenſe. See his Epitaph entire in Hiſt. Collections, II. 10.

† Church Records. ‡ Town Records.
* Town Records. § Ibid.

Mr. Oakes died in 1681. Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, who had been employed by the ſociety as his aſſiſtant, during the latter part of his miniſtry, was now choſen his ſucceſſor. He was ordained in 1682. He died in 1692.

Not long after his death, the church and ſociety unanimouſly invited the celebrated Dr. Increaſe Mather to ſucceed him, in the miniſtry: but the reluctance of his people, (among whom he had then miniſtered 36 years) with other obſtacles, prevented his acceptance of the invitation.

The Reverend William Brattle was, at length, choſen to this office; and was ordained in 1696. During his miniſtry, a formal and public relation of religious experiences, as a qualification for church fellowſhip, was, by a vote of the church, declared unneceſſary; the buſineſs of examination was referred to the paſtor and elders; and the conſent of the church to the admiſſion of a member was ſignified by ſilence, inſtead of a manual vote.

In 1700, the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge gave the high way on the ſouth ſide of Charles river, from the river to the road now leading to Roxbury, "for the uſe of the miniſtry in this town and place."† This highway lay to the eaſtward of the preſent one, on the ſouth ſide of the river. Before the erection of the firſt bridge over Charles river, there was a ferry, from the wharf at Water ſtreet, in Cambridge, to this highway.

In 1706, the third church was erected in Cambridge, a little in front of the ſpot where the preſent church ſtands; and the firſt divine ſervice was performed in it on the 13th of October.

On the petition of the farmers, "that they might be diſmiſſed from the town, and be a townſhip by themſelves;" leave was given them, on certain conditions: and Cambridge Farms were incorporated, by the name of *Lexington*, in 1712.*

Mr. Brattle died in 1717; and was ſucceeded by the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, who was ordained the ſame year.

A farm of 500 acres, lying at a remote part of Lexington, toward Bedford, "given in former time by the proprietors

† Town Records. * Ibid.

prietors of the town for the use of the ministry in this town and place," was sold in 1719; and the avails (excepting £.130 for the erection of a new parsonage house) were appropriated to the establishment of an accumulating fund, for the purpose originally designed by the donation. It was Mr. Appleton's proposal, (which has been carried into effect) that the minister should receive two thirds of the interest, and that the other third should be added to the principal, that it might be "a growing estate." This fund, by its own accumulation, and by the addition of the product of ministerial lands, sold in 1795, has become greatly auxiliary to the support of the ministry.

In 1732, the inhabitants of the north-westerly part of Cambridge were, by an act of the Legislature, formed into a distinct and separate Precinct. On the Lord's-day, September 9, 1739, a church was gathered in this precinct, by the Rev. Mr. Hancock, of Lexington: and, on the 12th of the same month, the Reverend Samuel Cooke was ordained its pastor. On this occasion, the first church in Cambridge voted, that £.25 be given out of the church stock to the second church in Cambridge, "to furnish their communion table in a decent manner."*

In 1734, the town received £.300 from the General Court, toward defraying the expence of repairing the Great Bridge over Charles river; and, together with a vote of thanks to the Court, voted thanks to Jacob Wendell, Esquire, and Mr. Cradock, for their kindness in procuring and collecting a very bountiful subscription for the same purpose.†

In 1736, a committee, chosen by the church to consult with the pastor respecting measures to promote a reformation, proposed and recommended to the church, as what they "apprehended might be serviceable for reviving religion, and suppressing growing disorders," that there be a number of wise, prudent, and blameless Christians chosen among themselves, whose special care it should be, to inspect

* Church Records. The Rev. Mr. Cooke, "in whom," as his epitaph justly states, "were united the social friend, the man of science, the eminent and faithful clergyman," died June 4, 1783, in the 75th year of his age, and 44th of his ministry. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, who was ordained April 23, 1788.

† Town Records.

ſpect and obſerve the manners of profeſſing Chriſtians, and ſuch as were under the care and watch of the church. The propoſal was adopted, and a committee was appointed, for the purpoſe expreſſed in the recommendation. This committee, which was a kind of privy council to the miniſter, though without authority, appears to have been very ſerviceable to the intereſts of religion; and it was renewed annually, for the ſpace of about fifty years.

In 1756, the preſent Court Houſe in Cambridge was built.

The preſent church, in the Firſt Pariſh in Cambridge, which is the fourth, built in this pariſh, was raiſed November 17, 1756; and divine ſervice was firſt performed in it July 24, 1757. The bell, now in uſe, was given to the ſociety, by Captain Andrew Belcher, in the year 1700; at which time the town gave "the little meeting-houſe bell to the farmers," or Lexington. The bible, for the pulpit, was the gift of the Honourable Jacob Wendell, Eſquire, of Boſton, in 1740. The preſent clock was procured by ſubſcription in 1794.

In 1761, five or ſix gentlemen, each of whoſe income was judged to be adequate to the maintenance of a domeſtic chaplain, were deſirous to have an epiſcopal church built, and a miſſionary fixed, at Cambridge. This year, accordingly, a church was erected: and the Reverend Eaſt Apthorp took charge of it, as miſſionary from the Society for the propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts.*

* This church, called *Chriſt Church*, was opened October 15, MDCCLXI; and is conſidered, by connoiſſeurs in architecture, as one of the beſt conſtructed churches in New-England. Its model is ſaid to have been taken from Italy. On its corner-ſtone is the following INSCRIPTION:

DEO. ÆTERNO.
PATRI. FILIO. SPIRITVI. S.
HANC. AEDEM.
SUB AVSPICIIS. ILLUSTRISS. SOCIETATIS.
PROMOVENDO. EVANGELIO.
IN. PARTIBUS. TRANSMARINIS.
INSTITUTAE.
CONSECRABANT. CANTABRIGIENSES.
ECCLESIAE. ANGLICANAE. FILII.
IN.
CHRISTIANAE. FIDEI. ET. CHARITATIS.
INCREMENTVM.
A. D. MDCCLX.
PROVINCIAM. PROCURANTE.
V. CL.
FRANCISCO. BERNARDO.

Mr.

The inhabitants of Cambridge early diſcovered a zealous attachment to the liberties of their country. On the occaſion of the memorable *Stamp Act*, it was voted, October 14, 1765, "as the opinion of the town, That the inhabitants of this Province have a legal claim to all the natural, inherent, conſtitutional rights of Engliſhmen, notwithſtanding their diſtance from Great-Britain, and that the Stamp Act is an infraction upon theſe rights." After ſtating its oppreſſive tendency, the vote proceeds: "Let this Act but take place, Liberty will be no more; Trade will languiſh and die; our Medium will be ſent into his Majeſty's exchequer; and Poverty come upon us as an armed man. The Town, therefore, hereby adviſe and direct their repreſentatives by no means whatſoever to do any one thing that may aid ſaid Act in its operation; but that, in conjunction with the friends of liberty, they uſe their utmoſt endeavours that the ſame may be repealed: and that this vote be recorded in the Town Books, that the children yet unborn may ſee the deſire that their anceſtors had for their freedom and happineſs."*

At a meeting of the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge, in 1769, "all the common lands, belonging to the proprietors, fronting the college, commonly called the Town Commons, not heretofore granted or allotted to any particular perſon, or for any ſpecial or particular uſe," were "granted to the town of Cambridge, to be uſed as a Training Field, to lie undivided, and to remain for that uſe forever."†

The election of counſellors for the Province of Maſſachuſetts was holden at Cambridge, in May, 1770, by order of Governor Hutchinſon; in oppoſition to the Charter, and to the ſenſe of the whole Province.

On the impoſition of a duty on teas imported to America, by the Eaſt-India Company, ſeveral ſpirited reſolves of the town of Cambridge, November 26, 1773, were cloſed with

Mr. Apthorp was educated at Jeſus College, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in England, of which he was afterwards a Fellow. He proceeded A. B. in 1755, and has ſince received the degree of D. D. from one of the Engliſh Univerſities. Within a few years after his ſettlement at Cambridge, he went to England, and became ſettled in London, where he is ſtill living.

* Town Records. † Proprietors' Records.

with the following: "That this Town can no longer ſtand idle ſpectators, but are ready, on the ſhorteſt notice, to join with the town of Boſton, and other towns, in any meaſures that may be thought proper, to deliver ourſelves and poſterity from ſlavery."*

On the great queſtion, "Whether, if Congreſs ſhould, for the ſafety of the Colonies, declare them independent of Great-Britain, the town would ſupport them in the meaſure:" the inhabitants of Cambridge, May 27, 1776, unanimouſly and ſolemnly engaged ſuch ſupport, with their lives and fortunes.†

From the commencement of hoſtilities at Lexington, April 18, 1775, the tranquillity of Cambridge was, for ſeveral years, interrupted, by the tumult of war. Many of the inhabitants left the town, and retired into the interior parts of the country. The Seat of the Muſes was now occupied by ſoldiers. It was at Cambridge that General Waſhington fixed his firſt encampment; and this was the place of the head-quarters of the American army, till the evacuation of Boſton, by the Britiſh troops, in 1776. During this period the college was aſſembled at Concord.

On the capture of General Burgoyne, in 1777, he, and his captured troops, were located at Cambridge, under the ſuperintendance of General Heath, as priſoners of war.

The preſent Conſtitution of Maſſachuſetts was framed at Cambridge, in 1779, by a Convention choſen by the ſeveral towns in the Commonwealth. It was referred to the conſideration of another Convention. The inhabitants of Cambridge, after propoſing ſeveral amendments, gave an example of a liberal patriotiſm, eſſential to every republican government, which muſt reſt on the will of the majority. "Willing to give up their own opinion in leſſer matters, in order to obtain a government whoſe authority might not be diſputed, and which they wiſhed might ſoon be eſtabliſhed;" they inſtructed their repreſentative to the Convention, "in their name and behalf, to ratify and confirm the propoſed form, whether the amendments be made, or not."‡

In 1780, the church members on the ſouth ſide of Charles river in Cambridge preſented a petition to the church,

* Town Records. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

church, "ſignifying their deſire to be diſmiſſed, and incorporated into a diſtinct church, for enjoying the ſpecial ordinances of the goſpel more conveniently by themſelves." The church voted a compliance with their petition; and they were incorporated on the 23d of February, 1783. The Reverend John Foſter was ordained to their paſtoral charge, November 4, 1784.

In 1783, in conſideration of the "very advanced age, and growing infirmities," of Dr. Appleton, a day of faſting and prayer was obſerved by the church and congregation, "to ſeek of God divine direction and aſſiſtance in the important affair of procuring a more fixed and ſettled preaching and adminiſtration of the word and ordinances among them." A few days after, "at the general deſire of the brethren of the church, as well as in compliance with his own inclination and earneſt wiſhes," Dr. Appleton appointed a meeting of the brethren of the church, for the purpoſe of chooſing a colleague, for his aſſiſtance in the miniſtry. The church, accordingly, choſe the Reverend Timothy Hilliard: and, the ſociety concurring in the choice, he was inſtalled the ſame year.

The aged and venerable Dr. Appleton, having, agreeably to his deſire, lived to ſee his country again bleſt with peace, and his church furniſhed with a worthy paſtor, departed this life, with calmneſs and reſignation, early in the year 1784.

In 1786, the preſent alms-houſe, in Cambridge, was purchaſed, repaired, and devoted to the uſe of the poor of the town.

The conduct of the town of Cambridge, in the memorable Inſurrection of 1786, was highly to its honour. A letter was directed to the Selectmen of Cambridge, written by deſire of a meeting of Committees from ſeveral towns in the county of Middleſex, "requeſting their concurrence in a County convention to be held at Concord on the 23d of Auguſt, in order to conſult upon matters of public grievances, and find out means of redreſs." The letter being laid before the town, a vote was paſſed, "That the Selectmen be deſired to anſwer ſaid letter, and expreſs the attachment of this town to the preſent conſtitution and adminiſtration of Government, and alſo to expreſs our averſion

ſion

ſion to uſe any irregular means for compaſſing an en which the conſtitution has already provided for; as w know of no Grievances the preſent ſyſtem of Governme is inadequate to redreſs."*

Mr. Hilliard died in 1790. He was ſucceeded in th miniſtry by the Compiler of this Hiſtory, in 1792.

A "Friendly Fire Society," conſiſting of twenty-eigh perſons, was formed in this town, in 1797. The object this aſſociation is, to prevent, or mitigate, the evils occ ſioned by fire. It annually chooſes a Chairman, Treaſure Clerk, and Wardens; and already poſſeſſes a decent fun

The Kine-Pox was introduced at Cambridge, this pr ſent year, by Profeſſor Waterhouſe, who imported th *matter* from England. The firſt who was inoculated f this diſorder, in America, was Daniel Oliver Waterhouſ a ſon of the Profeſſor.

First Church in Cambridge.

Succeſſion of Miniſters.	Time of ſettlement.	Time of deceaſe.	A
Rev. Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone	at Camb. Oct. 11, 1633; removed with their chh. to Hartford, 1636.	July 7, 1647 / July 2, 1663	
Thomas Shepard	——— 1636	Aug. 25, 1649	
Jonathan Mitchel	Aug. 21, 1650	July 9, 1668	
Urian Oakes	Nov. 8, 1671	July 25, 1681	
Nathaniel Gookin	Nov. 15, 1682	Aug. 7, 1692	
William Brattle, F. R. S.	Nov. 25, 1696	Feb. 15, 1717	
Nathl. Appleton, D. D.	Oct. 9, 1717	Feb. 9, 1784	
Timothy Hilliard	Oct. 27, 1783	May 9, 1790	
Abiel Holmes	Jan. 25, 1792		

A Biographical *Sketch of the* Miniſters *of* Cambrid

Mr. HOOKER.

The Reverend Thomas Hooker, the firſt miniſter Cambridge, and the father of the colony, as well as of th churches, of Connecticut, was born at Marfield, in Leice terſhire, in 1586. He was educated at Emanuel Colleg Cambridge, in England, where he was afterwards promote to a fellowſhip, in which office "he acquitted himſelf wit ſuc

* Town Records.

ſuch ability and faithfulneſs, as commanded univerſal approbation and applauſe." Upon his leaving the Univerſity, he preached occaſionally for ſome time in London; till, at length, in 1626, he was choſen Lecturer at Chelmsford. Here he preached, with great ſucceſs, for ſeveral years, and was ſo well beloved by the neighbouring clergy, that, when the Biſhop of London ſilenced him for Nonconformity, forty-ſeven of them ſigned a petition in his favour, teſtifying, *That Mr. Hooker was orthodox in doctrine, honeſt and ſober in his life and converſation, of a peaceable diſpoſition, and no ways turbulent or factious.* But this petition had no effect on the imperious and inexorable *Laud.* Mr. Hooker was conſtrained to lay down his miniſtry; and he ſet up a Grammar School at a village in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford. At the next viſitation, however, he was cited by the Biſhop to appear before the High Commiſſion Court. Thus cruelly perſecuted, he abſconded, and went to Holland, where he lived two or three years, preaching ſometimes at Delft, and ſometimes at Rotterdam.

In 1633, he came to New-England*; and, though he had been "ordained a preſbyter by a biſhop in England," he was ordained "then again by the brethren at Newtown."† He was a man of "the moſt exemplary piety, ſelf-denial,

* The reaſons of Mr. Hooker's removal to New-England are ſtated in a letter of the Rev. Mr. Cotton, preſerved in Gov. Hutchinſon's "Collection of Papers."—"The queſtions you demand, I had rather anſwer by word of mouth, than by letter, yet I will not refuſe to give you account of my brother Hookers removall and mine owne, ſeinge you require a reaſon thereof from us both. We both of us concurre in a 3 fold ground of removal. 1. God havinge ſhut a doore againſt both of us from miniſtringe to him and his people in our wonted congregations, and calling us by a remnant of our people, and by others of this countrye, to miniſter to them here, and opening a dore to us this way, who are we that we ſhould ſtrive againſt God and refuſe to follow the concurrence of his ordinance and providence together, callinge us forth to miniſter here. If we may and ought to follow God's callinge 3 hundred myles, why not 3 thouſand? 2. Our Saviors warrant is in our caſe, that when we are diſtreſſed in our courſe in one country (nequid dicam gravius) we ſhould flee to another. 3. It hath been noe ſmall inducement to us, to chooſe rather to remove hither, than to ſtay there, that we might enjoye the libertye, not of ſome ordinances of God, but of all, and all in purity."——See the reaſons more fully ſtated in Mr. Cotton's letter: Hutch. Coll. p. 54.

† Preſident Stiles's Election Sermon, ſecond edition, 103.

ſelf-denial, patience, and goodneſs.—In his day, he was one of the moſt animated and powerful preachers in New-England. In his ſermons, he was ſearching, experimental, and practical." In diſputation he was eminent. During his reſidence in Holland, he became intimately acquainted with the celebrated Dr. *Ames*, author of *Medulla Theologiæ*, who declared, that "though he had been acquainted with many ſcholars, of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching, or for diſputing."‡ In prayer he excelled. "In converſation he was pleaſant and entertaining, but always grave. He was exceedingly prudent in the management of church diſcipline.—He was affable, condeſcending, and charitable; yet his appearance and conduct were with ſuch becoming majeſty, authority, and prudence, that he could do more with a word, or a look, than other men could do with a ſevere diſcipline." It was not uncommon for him to give away five or ten pounds, at a time, to perſons in indigence. He died of an epidemical fever, July 7, 1647, ætat. LXII. "He had for many years enjoyed a comfortable aſſurance of his renewed eſtate, and when dying ſaid, *I am going to receive mercy.* He cloſed his own eyes, and appeared to die with a ſmile on his countenance."* He publiſhed, in his life time, ſeveral practical treatiſes; and his friends, after his death, publiſhed ſeveral of his ſermons, which were well received. "Mr. Hooker's books (ſays a contemporary writer) are of great requeſt among the faithful people of Chriſt." His principal work, entitled, "A Survey of the ſumme of Church-Diſcipline," was tranſcribed "under the eye and exact review of the eminently accompliſht author himſelfe," and ſent over to be publiſhed in England, about a year before his death. "But it was then buried," ſays Dr. Goodwin "in the rude waves of the vaſt ocean, with many precious ſaints on their paſſage hither." Another copy of it, however

‡ Magnalia, III. 61. Dr. Ames deſigned to follow Mr. Hooker but he died ſoon after Mr. Hooker's removal from Rotterdam. His widow and children came afterward to New-England, where they found in Mr. Hooker, a faithful friend and beneficent patron.

The great Mr. Cotton pronounced Mr. Hooker *Vir ſolertis ingenii atque acerrimi judicii.*

* Trumbull's Hiſt. Connecticut. See, alſo, Mather's Magnalia, B. III. p. 58—68.

ever, was ſent to England, and publiſhed in 1648, under the inſpection of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin, (a member of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, and ſome time Preſident of Magdalen College in Oxford) who ſays, "As touching this Treatiſe and the worthy author of it—to preface any thing by commendation of either were to lay paint upon burniſhed marble, or add light unto the ſun."——There is no inſcription on Mr. Hooker's tomb-ſtone. An hiſtorian,† who, in general, is not entitled to credence, ſays truly: "The tomb of Mr. Hooker is viewed with great reverence."

Mr. STONE.

The Reverend Samuel Stone, Mr. Hooker's aſſiſtant in the miniſtry, was educated at Emanuel College, in Cambridge. "He was eminently pious and exemplary; abounded in faſtings and prayer; and was a moſt ſtrict obſerver of the chriſtian ſabbath.—His ſermons were doctrinal, replete with ſentiment, conciſely and cloſely applied. He was eſteemed one of the moſt accurate and acute diſputants of his day. He was celebrated for his great wit, pleaſantry, and good humour. His company was courted by all gentlemen of learning and ingenuity, who had the happineſs of an acquaintance with him."* After a miniſtry of thirty years, he died July 20, 1663.

His Epitaph.

New England's glory and her radient crown
Was he who now in ſofteſt bed of down
Till glorious Reſurrection morn appear
Doth ſafely, ſweetly ſleep in Jeſus here.
In nature's ſolid art and reaſoning well
Tis known beyond compare he did excell
Errors corrupt by ſinnewous diſpute
He did oppugne and clearly them confute.
Above all things he Chriſt above prefer'd:
Hartford! thy richeſt Jewel's here interr'd.

Mr.

† Peters.

* Trumbull's Hiſtory of Connecticut, I. 326: and New-England's Memorial, 179. For a more particular account of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, ſee Mather's Magnalia, III. 58 & 116.

MR. SHEPARD.

The Reverend THOMAS SHEPARD was born in Towceſter, near Northampton, in Great-Britain, November 5, 1605. He was the ſon of Mr. William Shepard, who called him *Thomas*, becauſe his birth was ſuppoſed to be at the very hour, when the Gunpowder Treaſon was deſigned to be perpetrated; a plot, concerning which he obſerved, "This child of his would *hardly believe* that ever ſuch wickedneſs could be attempted by the ſons of men." At the age of fifteen, he became prepared for the univerſity and entered Emanuel College in Cambridge. Here, after a reſidence of about two years, he was impreſſed with very powerful convictions of his miſery in unregeneracy, which though occaſionally ſuſpended, were effectually renewed through the inſtrumentality of that celebrated Divine, Dr. Preſton, in 1624. From this time, he gave himſelf to daily meditation, which he attended every evening before ſupper.—Having proceeded A. M. at Cambridge, he accepted an invitation to Earl's Coln, where he held a lecture, ſupported by the pious charity of Dr. Wilſon, for three years. At the cloſe of this term, the inhabitants of Earl's Coln were ſo reluctant to part with him, that they raiſed a ſalary among themſelves for his ſupport; and prevailed on him to continue with them. Although he was yet a young man, there was an unuſual majeſty and energy in his preaching, and a holineſs in his life, which rendered him eminently uſeful to his own people, and to the towns in the vicinity, from which ſeveral afterwards accompanied him to New-England, to enjoy the benefit of his miniſtry.

When Dr. Laud became biſhop of London, Mr. Shepard was ſilenced for his Puritaniſm. Being invited into Yorkſhire, he officiated there, for ſome time, as a private chaplain, in the family of Sir Richard Darly, whoſe near kinswoman he afterwards married. To that family and neighbourhood he appears to have been a great bleſſing. Biſhop Neal refuſing him liberty for his miniſtry without *ſubſcription*; he removed to Heddon, in Northumberland, where his labours were very ſucceſsful. But the zeal of the biſhop

biſhop reached him, even in this remote corner of the kingdom, and prohibited him from preaching here any more.*

The removal of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and others, to America had already excited many pious people, in various parts of England, to contemplate a ſimilar removal. Several of Mr. Shepard's friends, in New-England, and others who purpoſed a removal, uniting their ſolicitations, at this juncture, he reſolved to repair to this new plantation. Having, accordingly, preached his farewell ſermon at Newcaſtle, he went in diſguiſe to Ipſwich, and thence to Earl's Coln; whence, accompanied by Mr. Norton, he went to Yarmouth, intending to embark there for New-England. Purſuivants, however, were employed to apprehend him. Theſe purſuivants, having diſcovered Mr. Shepard's quarters, had, by a ſum of money, obtained a promiſe, from a boy belonging to the

* The following extract from Mr. Shepard's MS. Diary, furniſhes an intereſting ſpecimen of the barbarous treatment, which our pious anceſtors received, under the inquiſitorial domination of biſhop Laud: "Dec. 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the Dioceſs of London, by Doctor Laud, biſhop of that Dioceſs. As ſoon as I came in the morning, about 8 of the clock, falling into a fit of rage he aſked me, *What degree I had taken at the Univerſity?* I anſwered him, I was a Maſter of Arts. He aſked, *Of what College?* I anſwered, Of Emanuel. He aſked, *How long I had lived in his Dioceſs?* I anſwered, Three years and upwards. He aſked, *Who maintained me all this while?* charging me to deal plainly with him, adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by ſome of my malignant Faction than ever was man by Jeſuit. At the ſpeaking of which words he look'd as tho' blood would have guſh'd out of his face, and did ſhake as if he had been haunted with an Ague Fit, to my apprehenſion, by reaſon of his extream malice and ſecret venom. I deſired him to excuſe me: He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, ſaying, *You prating coxcomb! Do you think all the Learning is in your brain?* He pronounced his ſentence thus: *I charge you, that you neither Preach, Read, Marry, Bury, or exerciſe any Miniſterial Function in any part of my Dioceſs; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and ſo everlaſtingly diſenable you.*" I beſought him not to deal ſo, in regard of a poor Town; and here he ſtopt me in what I was going on to ſay, *A poor Town! you have made a company of ſeditious factious Bedlams; and what do you prate to me of a poor Town?* I prayed him to ſuffer me to catechiſe in the Sabbath Days in the afternoon: He replied, *Spare your breath, I'll have no ſuch fellows prate in my Dioceſs, get you gone, and now make your complaints to whom you will.* So away I went; and bleſſed be God that I may go to him."

the houſe where he lodged, to open the door for them at a certain hour of the night. But by the ſingular providence of God, the deſign was fruſtrated. Some ſerious expreſſions of Mr. Shepard being uttered in the hearing of this boy, he was ſtruck with horror at the thought, that he ſhould be ſo wicked as to betray ſo good a man; and with tears, diſcovered the whole plot to his pious maſter, who took care immediately to convey Mr. Shepard out of the reach of his enemies.

Toward the cloſe of the year 1634, Mr. Shepard embarked at Harwich; but in a few hours the ſhip was driven back into Yarmouth road, where aroſe one of the moſt tremendous ſtorms ever known. The ſhip was almoſt miraculouſly ſaved, but ſo materially damaged that the propoſed voyage was relinquiſhed.* Mr. Shepard, after ſpending the winter at Baſtwick, went, in the ſpring, to London, where, by a removal of his lodgings, he again narrowly eſcaped his purſuivants. In July, he ſailed from Graveſend, and, on the third of October, 1635, after a hazardous voyage, he arrived at Boſton. His friends at Newtown [Cambridge] ſoon conducted him to that infant ſettlement, deſtined to be the field of his future labours.

After a diligent, laborious, and ſucceſsful miniſtry, he died of the quinſy, Auguſt 25, 1649, ætat. XLIV. On his death-bed, he ſaid to the young miniſters around him, "That their work was great, and called for great ſeriouſneſs;" and mentioned to them three things concerning himſelf: "That the ſtudy of every ſermon coſt him tears; That before he preached any Sermon he got good by it himſelf; and, That he always went into the pulpit, as if he were to give up his accounts to his Maſter."

He is ſaid to have been "a poore, weake, pale complectioned man." He was diſtinguiſhed for his humility and piety; and as a preacher of evangelical truth, and an author on experimental religion, he was one of the foremoſt of

* "In the meane time the maſter, and other ſeamen, made a ſtrange conſtruction of the ſore ſtorme they met withall, ſaying, their ſhip was bewitched; and therefore made uſe of the common charme ignorant people uſe, nailing two red hot horſe ſhoos to their maine maſt."

Wonder-working Providence.

of his day.† He was an influential patron of learning, as well as of religion, and was zealous in promoting the intereſts of the infant college, as well as thoſe of the infant church, at Cambridge.‡ "By his death, not only the church and people at Cambridge, but alſo all New-England, ſuſtained a very great loſs. He not only preached the goſpel profitably and ſucceſsfully, but alſo left behind him divers worthy works of ſpecial uſe, in reference unto the clearing up the ſtate of the ſoul toward God." ‖

Mr.

† Preſident Edwards ſtyles Mr. Shepard "that famous experimental divine;" and, in his very judicious and elaborate "Treatiſe concerning Religious Affections," makes a greater uſe of his writings, particularly of his "Parable of the Ten Virgins," than of any other writings whatever.

Johnſon, who wrote a few years after Mr. Shepard's death, ſays: "Thouſands of ſouls have cauſe to bleſſe God for him even at this very day, who are the ſeal of his miniſtrey, and hee a man of a thouſand, indued with abundance of true ſaving knowledge for himſelfe and others."*—Later writers have not overlooked Mr. Shepard's antiquated merit. Dr. Mayhew, in one of his controverſial eſſays, mentions him as a perſon of great note in his day, and a learned man. Dr. Chauncy, in his "Seaſonable Thoughts," quotes him with great reſpect, ſtyling him, in different parts of his work, "the memorable," "the celebrated," "the famous" Shepard.

‡ In 1644, he wrote to the Commiſſioners of the United Colonies, repreſenting the neceſſity of further aſſiſtance for needy ſcholars at Cambridge; and deſired them to encourage a general contribution through the colonies. The Commiſſioners approved the motion, and recommended it to the conſideration of the Legiſlatures of the ſeveral colonies, which adopted the recommendation; and an annual contribution was, accordingly, made through the United Colonies, for many ſubſequent years. *Trumbull's Hiſt. Connect.* I. 148. *Hazard's Hiſt. Collections*, II. 17, *where Mr. Shepard's Propoſition to the Commiſſioners is preſerved entire.*

‖ Morton.—Mr. Shepard's monument is not now diſtinguiſhable among the tombs. In the burying ground in Cambridge, there are ſeveral monuments, of hard ſtone, with inciſions, evidently deſigned to admit a ſofter ſtone with an inſcription. By the ravages of time, or of ſacrilegious hands, theſe inlet ſtones are now removed, and the inſcriptions are unhappily loſt. But for this injury, we might, perhaps, now have the melancholy pleaſure of viſiting the monuments of the pious and

* *Wonder-working Providence*, xxxiv. *This very ſcarce and valuable book, (obligingly put into my hands by the venerable antiquarian Judge Cranch, of Quincey,) was firſt publiſhed without the author's name; and, afterward, erroneouſly aſcribed to ſir F. Gorges. The real author was Mr. Johnſon, of Woburn, in N. England.* See Preface of Prince's Chron. II.

Mr. Shepard's printed works are: *Theſes Sabbaticæ*, " which he hath handled the morality of the ſabbath, witl degree of reaſon, reading, and religion, which is truly traordinary." [C. Mather.]

A Diſcourſe, in which is handled the controverſy of t Catholic viſible church, " tending to clear up the old w of Chriſt, in the churches of New-England."

A Letter on " The church memberſhip of children, a their right to baptiſme." *This letter was printed at Ca bridge*, 1663.

A Letter, entitled, " New-England's Lamentation f Old England's errors."

A Sermon, entitled, " Cautions againſt ſpiritual dru kenneſs."

A Treatiſe, entitled, " Subjection to Chriſt, in all I Ordinances and Appointments, the beſt means to preſer our liberty:" to which is ſubjoined another Treati " Concerning ineffectual hearing of the Word."

" The Sincere Convert," which the author called l ragged child, on account of its incorrectneſs, it havi been ſurreptitiouſly publiſhed.

" The Sound Believer," which is a diſcriminating Tre iſe on Evangelical Converſion.

" The Parable of the Ten Virgins," a poſthumous wor in folio, tranſcribed from his ſermons, preached at l Lecture from June 1636 to May 1640; concerning whi the venerable divines Greenhil, Calamy, Aſh, and Tayl obſerved, " That though a vein of ſerious, ſolid and hear piety run through all this author's works; yet he ha reſerved the beſt wine till the laſt."

" Singing of Pſalmes a Goſpel-Ordinance," which, in t title-page, is ſaid to be " By John Cotton, Teacher of t Church at Boſton in New England;" but which was re ly, in ſubſtance, the work of Mr. Shepard. On a bla leaf of the copy now before me, there is the followi memorandum, probably written by the Rev. Thomas She

ar

and renowned SHEPARD and MITCHEL, and of others, of revered me ory.—The ſlab, which covered the grave of the great Preſident Cha cy, is broken into three pieces; and the fragments are *carefully* l aſide. A line of Horace would form an appoſite inſcription for t tomb of many a great and good man:

Oblituſque meorum obliviſcendus et illis.

ard, of Charleſtown, whoſe name is on the book: "Mr. Edward Bulkley, paſtor of the church of Chriſt in Concord, told me Sept. 20, 1674, that when he boarded at Mr. Cotton's houſe at the firſt coming forth of this book of ſinging of Pſalmes, Mr. Cotton told him that my father Shepard had the chief hand in the compoſing of it, and therefore Mr. Cotton ſaid, I am troubled that my brother Shepard's name is not prefixed to it."—It is a quarto, of 72 pages, and was printed at London, in 1647.

"The clear Sun-Shine of the Goſpel upon the Indians," publiſhed in London 1648.

Neal mentions a work of Mr. Shepard, entitled, "Evangelical Call," as one of his moſt noted Treatiſes. I find no notice of it elſewhere.

"Select Caſes reſolved:" "Firſt Principles of the Oracles of God, or, Sum of Chriſtian Religion:" "Meditations and Spiritual Experiences," extracted from Mr. Shepard's Private Diary. Theſe three were publiſhed by the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boſton, (the laſt of them from the original MS.) in 1747. The Select Caſes and Firſt Principles were publiſhed together, firſt at London, and then at Edinburgh, in 1648; and have, ſince, paſſed through ſeveral editions.

Mr. MITCHEL.

The Reverend Jonathan Mitchel was born at Halifax, in Yorkſhire, in Great-Britain, in 1624. His parents were exemplary Chriſtians, who, by the impoſitions and perſecutions of the Engliſh hierarchy, were conſtrained to ſeek an aſylum in New-England, in 1635; at which time they brought over their ſon Jonathan, then eleven years of age. Their firſt ſettlement was at Concord, in Maſſachuſetts; whence, a year after, they removed to Saybrook, in Connecticut; and, not long after, to Wethersfield. Their next removal was to Stamford; where Mr. Mitchel, the father, died in 1645, ætat. LV.

The claſſical ſtudies of his ſon Jonathan were ſuſpended for ſeveral years, after his arrival in America; but, "on the earneſt advice of ſome that had obſerved his great capacity," they were, at length, reſumed, in 1642.*

* C. Mather. Dr. Increaſe Mather aſcribes this meaſure to his father's influence. "After Mr. Mitchel was arrived in New-England, he

In 1645, at the age of twenty-one, he entered Harvard College. Here, he became religiouſly impreſſed, under Mr. Shepard's miniſtry, which he ſo highly eſtimated as, afterward, to obſerve, "Unleſs it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cauſe to bleſs God with wonder, than for thoſe four years," ſpent at the Univerſity. He was an indefatigable ſtudent, and made great acquirements in knowledge and virtue. His extraordinary learning, wiſdom, gravity, and piety, occaſioned an early application of ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable churches, for his ſervices in the miniſtry. The church at Hartford, in particular, ſent for him with the intention of his becoming ſucceſſor to the famous Mr. Hooker. He preached his firſt ſermon at Hartford, June 24, 1649; and, on the day following, was invited to a ſettlement in the miniſtry, in that reſpectable town. Having, however, been previouſly importuned by Mr. Shepard, and the principal members of his ſociety, to return to Cambridge, free from any engagement, with a view to a ſettlement there; he declined an acceptance of the invitation at Hartford, and returned to Cambridge, where he preached for the firſt time Auguſt 12, 1649. Here a providential opening was ſoon made for his induction into the miniſtry. Mr. Shepard died on the 25th of the ſame month; and, by the unanimous deſire of the people of Cambridge, Mr. Mitchel was now invited to become his ſucceſſor. He accepted the invitation; and was ordained Auguſt 21, 1650.

Soon after his ſettlement, he was called to a peculiar trial. Preſident Dunſter, who had formerly been his tutor, about this time imbibed the principle of antipedobaptiſm; and preached ſome ſermons againſt the adminiſtration of baptiſm to any infant whatever. Mr. Mitchel, young as he then was, felt it incumbent on him openly to combat this principle; and conducted, in this delicate and difficult caſe, with ſuch judgment, moderation, and *meekneſs of wiſdom*, as would have well become the experience and improvement of advanced age. Although this controverſy

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he employed his ſon Jonathan in ſecular affairs; but the ſpirit of the child was ſtrongly ſet for learning, and he prayed my father to perſuade his father that he might have a learned education. My father's perſuaſions happily prevailed."

r occaſioned the Preſident's removal from Cambridge; et Mr. Mitchel continued to cultivate an eſteem for him, nd, after his deceaſe, paid a reſpectful tribute to his mem-ry, in an elegy, replete with expreſſions of that noble and atholic ſpirit, which characterized its author.*

Such were his literary acquirements, and ſo reſpectable is character, that, ſo early as the year 1650, he was choſen Tutor and a Fellow of Harvard College.†

He was a very influential member of the Synod, which net at Boſton in 1662, to diſcuſs and ſettle an intereſting ueſtion concerning church-membership and church-diſci-line, and chiefly compoſed the Reſult of that ſynod. "The determination of the queſtion at laſt," ſays Dr. Mather, "was more owing to him than to any man in the orld." The divine Head of the church "made this reat man, even while he was yet a young man, one of the reateſt inſtruments we ever had of explaining and main-aining the truths relating to the *church-ſtate* of the *poſterity* f our churches, and of the *church-care* which our churches we to their poſterity."‡—He was a man of ſingular acute-eſs, prudence, and moderation; and was, therefore, emi-ently qualified to diſcern the truth, in difficult and per-lexing caſes, and to adjuſt the differences of diſputants.§ Hence, in eccleſiaſtical Councils, to which he was frequent-y invited, and in weighty caſes, where the General Court requently conſulted the miniſters, "the *ſenſe* and *hand* of o man was relied more upon than his, for the exact reſult of

* The conduct of both parties, on this occaſion, does them ſingular onour; and furniſhes an example worthy of imitation in the preſent ge, an age which is frequently cenſuring the bigotry of the pious an-eſtors of New-England, in contraſt with its own catholiciſm. Preſident Dunſter "died in ſuch harmony of affection with the good men, who ad been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he, by his Will, ordered his body to be carried to Cambridge for its burial, and bequeathed legacies to thoſe very perſons."

Magnalia, III. 100. IV. 158.

† Mr. Samuel Mather and Mr. Mitchel were the firſt that were elect-ed Fellows in this ſeminary. In the infancy of the inſtitution, a Tutor was, ex officio, a Fellow of the college.

‡ Magnalia.

§ The celebrated Mr. Baxter ſaid of him, "If an Œcumenical Coun-cil could be obtained, Mr. Mitchel were worthy to be its Moderator."

C. Mather.

of all." The great President Chauncey, though much older than he, and though openly opposed to him at the Synod, said, at the very height of the controversy: "I know no man in this world that I could envy so much as worthy Mr. Mitchel, for the great holiness, learning, wisdom, and meekness, and other qualities of an excellent spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him."

Morton, who was contemporary with Mr. Mitchel, says: "He was a person that held very near communion with God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart;* surpassing in public spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth against all oppugners of it."†

Dr. Increase Mather, who was personally and intimately acquainted with him, says: "He was blessed with admirable natural as well as acquired parts. His judgment was solid, deep, and penetrating; his memory was strong, and vastly capacious. He wrote his sermons very largely; and then used, with enlargements, to commit all to his memory, without once looking into his bible, after he had named his text; and yet his sermons were scriptural."

As a preacher, he was distinguished for "an extraordinary invention, curious disposition, and copious application." His voice was melodious, and his delivery is said to have been "inimitable." He spoke with "a transcendent majesty and liveliness," and toward the close of his discourses, his fervency rose to "a marvellous measure of energy."

He was pastor of the church of Cambridge about eighteen years; and "was most intense and faithful" in his work. "He went through a great part of the body of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of Genesis,

* Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the Judges of king Charles I. on the day of their arrival in New-England, July 1660, came to Cambridge, where they resided till February following, and were treated with the kindest hospitality and friendship by Mr. Mitchel, who admitted them to the sacrament, and to private meetings for devotion. *Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts*, I. 215. *President Stiles's, Hist. of three of the Judges of Charles I.* 28.

† New-England's Memorial, 201.

Geneſis, and part of Exodus, and delivered many fruitful and profitable ſermons on the four firſt chapters of John." He held, alſo, a monthly Lecture, which was "abundantly frequented," by the people of the neighbouring towns, as well as by his own ſociety. "His race was but ſhort, but the work he did was very much."—Juſt after he had been preaching on theſe words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and unto the houſe appointed for all the living*, as he came out of the pulpit, he was ſeized with a fever, which terminated his life July 9, 1668, in the forty-third year of his age, and eighteenth of his miniſtry.

Dr. I. Mather ſays, he "never knew any death that cauſed ſo great a mourning and lamentation generally: He was greatly loved and honoured throughout all the churches, as well as in *Cambridge*, and admired by the moſt competent judges of real worth."

Very few of his writings were ever publiſhed. I can obtain notice of the following only:

A Letter of counſel to his brother, written while he reſided at the Univerſity;

An Election Sermon, on Nehem. ii. 10, entitled "Nehemiah upon the wall;" preached May 15, 1667; and printed at Cambridge;

A Letter concerning the ſubject of Baptiſme, printed at Cambridge, 1675;

"A Diſcourſe of the Glory to which God hath called Believers by Jeſus Chriſt," printed at London, after his death, with the Letter to his brother affixed; and reprinted at Boſton, in a duodecimo volume, in 1721.

Mr. OAKES.

The Reverend Urian Oakes was born in England about the year 1631; and was brought to America in his childhood. From this early period, he was diſtinguiſhed for the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, which characterized him through life. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1649. While very young, and ſmall, he publiſhed, at Cambridge, a ſet of *Aſtronomical Calculations*, with this appoſite motto:

Parvum parva decent, ſed ineſt ſua gratia parvis.

Soon

Soon after his graduation, he went to England, where, after having been ſome time a chaplain to an eminent perſonage, he became ſettled in the miniſtry at Titchfield. Being ſilenced, however, in 1662, in common with the nonconformiſt miniſters throughout the nation (by Act xiv. Car. 2); he reſided a while in the family of Colonel Norton, a man of great merit and reſpectability, who, on this occaſion, afforded him an aſylum. When the violence of the perſecution abated, he returned to the exerciſe of his miniſtry in another congregation, as colleague with Mr. Simmons. Such was his celebrity for learning and piety, for miniſterial abilities and fidelity, that the church and ſociety of Cambridge, on the deceaſe of Mr. Mitchel, were induced to invite him to their paſtoral charge. They ſent a meſſenger to England, to preſent him with the invitation; which, with the approbation of a council of miniſters, he accepted. After repeated delays, occaſioned by the ſickneſs and death of his wife, and by a ſubſequent perſonal illneſs, he came to America, and commenced his miniſtry at Cambridge, November 8, 1671.

So diſtinguiſhed was he for his learning and abilities, and for his patronage of the intereſts of literature, that, in 1675, he was invited to the preſidency of Harvard College, as ſucceſſor to Preſident Hoar. He accepted the invitation; and officiated as Preſident, ſtill retaining the charge of his flock, for about ſix years, when his uſeful life was ſuddenly brought to a cloſe. He had been ſubject to a quartan ague, which often interrupted his public ſervices. A malignant fever now ſeized him, and, in a day or two, proved mortal. His congregation, aſſembling on a Lord's-day, when the Lord's Supper was to have been adminiſtered, were affectingly ſurpriſed to find their reſpected and beloved paſtor in the pangs of death. He died July 25, 1681, in the fiftieth year of his age, and tenth of his miniſtry at Cambridge.

He was eminent for his knowledge and piety, and was a very engaging and uſeful preacher. "Conſidered as a ſcholar, he was," ſays Dr. C. Mather, "a notable critic in all the points of learning; and well verſed in every point of

of the *Great Circle.*"*—"He did the ſervice of a Preſident, even as he did all other ſervices, faithfully, learnedly, indefatigably." Dr. Increaſe Mather, whoſe characters appear to be drawn with more exact diſcrimination than thoſe of his ſon Cotton, ſays: "An age doth ſeldom produce one ſo many ways excelling, as this Author† was. If we conſider him as a *Divine*, as a *Scholar*, as a *Chriſtian*, it is hard to ſay in which he did moſt excel. I have often in my thoughts compared him to Samuel among the prophets of old; inaſmuch as he did truly *fear God from his youth*, and was *betimes* improved in *holy miniſtrations*, and was at laſt called to be *Head* of the *ſons of the prophets*, in this New Engliſh Iſrael, as Samuel was Preſident of the College at Naioth. In many other particulars, I might enlarge upon the parallel, but that it is inconvenient to extend ſuch inſtances beyond their proportion.

——Heu, tua nobis
Morte ſimul tecum ſolatia rapta!

It may, without reflection upon any, be ſaid, that he was one of the greateſt lights, that ever ſhone in this part of the world, or that is ever like to ariſe in our horizon."

The only publications of Mr. Oakes, of which I find any account, are:

An Artillery Election Sermon, on Rom. viii. 37, preached June 3, 1672;

An Election Sermon, on Deut. xxxii. 29, preached May 7, 1673;

An Elegy on the Rev. Thomas Shepard, Paſtor of the church in Charleſtown, [ſon of Mr. Shepard, miniſter of Cambridge] who died Dec. 22, 1667. [They were all printed

* Dr. C. Mather, who was educated under his preſidency, has preſerved, in one of his publications, a ſpecimen of his Latin compoſition, which is very claſſical and elegant. In his judgment, "America never had a greater maſter of the true, pure, Ciceronian Latin," than Preſident Oakes. He appears to have had a poetical genius. An Elegy, of conſiderable length, written by him on the Rev. Mr. Shepard, of Charleſtown, riſes, in my judgment, far above the poetry of his day. It is of Pindaric meaſure, and is plaintive, pathetic, and replete with imagery.

† This paragraph is extracted from the Preface of Dr. Increaſe Mather to a Diſcourſe of Mr. Oakes, publiſhed ſoon after the Author's deceaſe.

printed at Cambridge, by Samuel Green; and are preſerved in the Library of the Hiſtorical Society.]

His epitaph, though not now diſtinctly legible on his tomb-ſtone, is preſerved in Mather's Magnalia, and is as follows:

URIANI OAKESII,
Cujus, quod reliquum eſt,
clauditur hoc tumulo;
Exploratâ integritate, ſumma morum gravitate,
Omniumque meliorum Artium inſigni Peritiâ,
Spectatiſſimi, Clariſſimique omnibus modis Viri,
Theologi, merito ſuo, celeberrimi,
Concionatoris vere Melliflui,
Cantabrigienſis Eccleſiæ, Doctiſſimi et Orthodoxi Paſtoris,
In Collegio Harvardino Præſidis Vigilantiſſimi,
Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundiæ Laudem
Adepti;
Qui repentinâ morte ſubitò correptus,
In JESU ſinum efflavit animam,
Julii XXV. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.
Memoriæ.
Etatis ſuæ L.
Plurima quid referam, ſatis eſt ſi dixeris Unum,
Hoc Dictu ſatis eſt, *Hic jacit* OAKESIUS.

MR. GOOKIN.

The Reverend NATHANIEL GOOKIN was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1675. On Mr. Oakes' acceptance of the preſidency in 1679,* the church gave "a Call to Mr. Gookin to be helpful in the miniſtry, in order to call him to office in time convenient."† After Mr. Oakes' deceaſe, the church invited him to the paſtoral office. He accepted the invitation; and was ordained November 15, 1682. He was a Fellow of Harvard College. After a miniſtry of ſcarcely ten years, he died on the Lord's-day, Auguſt 7, 1692, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his miniſtry.

The

* His previous election, in 1675, was *pro tempore*.
† Church Records.

ıe ſhortneſs of Mr. Gookin's miniſtry, and the impern of the early records of the church, leave us very ient in the means of obtaining his hiſtory and char-

ı was a ſon of Major-General Gookin, whoſe diſtined character, and eminent ſervices, have been noticed ıe preceding hiſtory. Tradition informs us, that he nterred in the ſouth-eaſt corner of the burying ground, ıth a brick monument, covered with a ſtone ſlab, the iption of which is not now legible. He left a ſon, of wn name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1703, and afterward, ſettled in the miniſtry at North-Hill, a h in Hampton, New-Hampſhire. This Mr. Gookin is ſented, by a contemporary miniſter, as a man, "whoſe ſifications for the work of the miniſtry, and whoſe ty, induſtry and ſkill in proſecuting it, as well as exary caution and prudence, were too well known to any atteſtation."* He died in 1734, Ætat. XLVIII, ng a ſon of his name, who graduated at Cambridge '31, and ſucceeded his father in the miniſtry, at Hamp- Oct. 31, 1739. This ſon is repreſented as one, "who, many accounts, beſide his own perſonal worth, ought near and dear" to his ſociety, "being both ways deled from thoſe who have been ſtars of the firſt magni-"† He died in 1766.

Mr. BRATTLE.

ıe Reverend William Brattle was born in Boſton, t the year 1662; and educated at Harvard College, ıe he graduated in 1680. He was, afterward, choſen tor, and a Fellow, in that ſeminary, and officiated in of theſe capacities for ſeveral years. Dr. Colman, was a ſtudent, while Mr. Brattle was in the tutorſhip, ſays,

* The Rev. Mr. Shurtleff's Sermon, at the ordination of Mr. Naıl Gookin, in 1739.

† Mr. Shurtleff informs us, (Ordin. Serm.) that the Rev. Seaborn was this Mr. Gookin's great grandfather. I ſuppoſe the ſecond Nathaniel Gookin (ſon of the miniſter of Cambridge) married a ter of John Cotton, (his predeceſſor in the miniſtry) who was a Seaborn, (his predeceſſor) who was a ſon of the renowned John , one of the firſt miniſters of Boſton.

ſays, "He was an able, faithful and tender Tutor. He countenanced virtue and proficiency in us, and every good diſpoſition he diſcerned, with the moſt fatherly goodneſs; and ſearched out and puniſhed vice with the authority of a maſter. He did his utmoſt to form us to virtue and the fear of God, and to do well in the world; and diſmiſſed his pupils, when he took leave of them, with pious charges and with tears." One memorable inſtance of his humanity, and chriſtian heroiſm, while in the tutorſhip, is recorded as worthy, if not of imitation, of admiration. When the ſmall-pox prevailed in the college, although he had not had that terrible diſorder, inſtead of a removal, he ſtaid at his chamber, viſited the ſick ſcholars, and took care that they ſhould be ſupplied with whatever was neceſſary to their ſafety and comfort. "So dear was his charge to him, that he ventured his life for them, miniſtering both to their ſouls and bodies; for he was a ſkilful phyſician to both." At length, he was taken ill, and retired to his bed; but the diſorder was very mild, and he was ſoon happily reſtored.

He was ordained Paſtor of the church in Cambridge, November 25, 1696. On this occaſion he preached his own ordination ſermon, from 1 Cor. iii. 6; the Rev. Increaſe Mather gave the charge; and the Rev. Samuel Willard, the right hand of fellowſhip. On the ſame occaſion, the Rev. Increaſe Mather preached a ſermon, from Rev. i. 16.

Mr. Brattle was polite and affable, courteous and obliging, compaſſionate and charitable. His eſtate was very large; and, though he diſtributed it with a liberal hand "ſecret and ſilent" were his charities. His pacific ſpirit and his moderation, were conſpicuous; and "he ſeemed to have equal reſpect to good men of all denominations." He was patient of injuries, and placable; and ſaid, after trials, he knew not how he could have ſpared any one of them. With humility he united magnanimity; and was neither bribed by the favour, nor over-awed by the displeaſure, of any man. "He was of an auſtere and mortified life"; yet candid and tolerant toward others. He was a man of great learning and abilities; and, at once a philoſopher and a divine. It is no ſmall evidence of his attainments

attainments in ſcience, that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. "He was a generous patron of learning, and long a father of the college" in Cambridge. He placed neither learning, nor religion, in unprofitable ſpeculations, but in ſuch ſolid and ſubſtantial truth, as improves the mind, and is beneficial to the world. Poſſeſſing ſtrong mental powers, he was "much formed for counſel and advice"; and his judgment was often ſought, and highly reſpected.

His manner of preaching may be learnt from Dr. Colman, who, comparing Mr. Brattle with Mr. Pemberton, obſerves: "They performed the public exerciſes in the houſe of God with a great deal of ſolemnity, though in a manner ſomewhat different; for Mr. Brattle was all calm, and ſoft, and melting; but Mr. Pemberton was all flame, and zeal, and earneſtneſs." Mr. Brattle's miniſtry appears to have been ſucceſsful; and the church, while under his paſtoral care, became very greatly enlarged. Although he attained a greater age than either of his famous predeceſſors, Shepard, Mitchel, and Oakes; yet he was often interrupted in his miniſterial labours, "by pains and languiſhments," and died February 15, 1717, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-firſt of his miniſtry.

The baptiſms of children, during his miniſtry, were ſeven hundred and twenty-four; and the admiſſions to the fellowſhip of the church three hundred and ſixty-four.

"They that had the happineſs to know Mr. Brattle, knew a very religious good man, an able divine, a laborious faithful miniſter, an excellent ſcholar, a great benefactor, a wiſe and prudent man, and one of the beſt of friends. The promoting of Religion, Learning, Virtue and Peace, every where within his reach, was his very life and ſoul; the great buſineſs about which he was conſtantly employed, and in which he principally delighted. Like his great Lord and Maſter he went (or ſent) about doing good. His principles were ſober, ſound, moderate, being of a catholick and pacifick ſpirit.—For a conſiderable time before his death, he laboured under a languiſhing diſtemper, which he bore with great patience and reſignation; and died with peace and an extraordinary ſerenity of mind. He was pleaſed in his laſt Will and Teſtament to

bequeath to Harvard College two hundred and pounds, beſides a much greater ſum in other pious charitable legacies."*

The funeral of Mr. Brattle was attended on the 20t February, a day rendered memorable by *The Great S* "He was greatly honoured at his interment;" anc principal magiſtrates and miniſters of Boſton and of vicinity, aſſembled on this occaſion, were neceſſarily de ed at Cambridge by the ſnow for ſeveral days.†

He appears to have publiſhed ſcarcely any of his t ings; though many of them were, doubtleſs, very wo of publication. His grandſon, Thomas Brattle,‡ Eſq favoured me with the peruſal of ſome of his Sermon manuſcript, which are written very fairly and corre and are remarkably clear, and conciſe, ſententious didactic.

Jeremiah Dummer, Eſquire, a gentleman of reſpecta ty, having, while an agent in England, procured ſ printed ſermons, by deſire of Mr. Flint, obſerves:— think the modern ſermons, which are preached and p ed here, are very lean and dry, having little divinity in matter, or brightneſs in the ſtyle; I am ſure they ar way comparable to the ſolid diſcourſes which Mr. Br gives you every week."§

* Boſton News-Letter, No. 671.

† A few particulars concerning this memorable Snow may gratif rioſity. The Boſton News-Letter of February 25, 1717, has the follo paragraphs: "Beſides ſeveral Snows, we had a great one on Mo the 18th current; and on Wedneſday the 20th it begun to ſnow a noon, and continued ſnowing till Friday the 22d. ſo that the Snov in ſome parts of the ſtreets about Six foot high."—"Saturday laſ a clear Sunſhine, not a cloud to be ſeen till towards evening. An Lord's-Day, the 24th, a deep Snow."—"The extremity of the we has hindered all the three Poſts from coming in; neither can th expected till the roads (now impaſſable with a mighty Snow upo ground) are beaten." The News-Letter, of March 4, has this graph: "*Boſton;* February ended with Snow, and March begins it, the Snow ſo deep that there is no travelling."

‡ This very worthy and reſpectable man departed this life, ſince Hiſtory was committed to the preſs, February 7th, 1801, ætat. His father, Brigadier-General William Brattle, was the only child c Rev. William Brattle, who lived to mature age.

§ Coll. of Hiſt. Soc. for 1799, p. 79.

The only publication of Mr. Brattle, which has come to my knowledge, is a ſyſtem of Logic, entitled, "Compendium Logicæ ſecundum Principia D. Renati Carteſii plerumque efformatum, et catechiſticè propoſitum." It was long recited at Harvard College, and holden in high eſtimation. An edition of it was publiſhed as late as the year 1758.

Mr. Brattle lies interred in a tomb, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the burying yard, with this inſcription;

Depoſitum
GULIELMI BRATTLE
nuper Eccleſiæ Cantabrigienſis
N. A. Paſtoris Rev^di Senatûs Collegii
Harvardini Socij Primarij,
Ejuſdemque Curatoris Spectatiſſimi,
et R. S. S. qui obiit xv^o Febr^ii
Anno Domini MDCCXVII, et Ætatis
Suæ LV. Hic requieſcit in ſpe
Beatæ Reſurrectionis.

Dr. APPLETON.

The Reverend Nathaniel Appleton was born at Ipſwich, December 9, 1693. His father was the Honourable *John Appleton** ; and his mother was the eldeſt daughter of Preſident Rogers. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1712. On the completion of his education, his uncle, an opulent merchant, offered to ſet him up in trade ; but he declined the offer, that he might purſue his theological ſtudies, preparatory to the work of the miniſtry.

Soon after the death of Mr. Brattle, the church in Cambridge choſe Mr. Appleton to ſucceed him in the miniſtry ; and he was ordained its paſtor, October 9, 1717. On this occaſion, Dr. Increaſe Mather preached a ſermon from Epheſ. iv. 12, and gave the charge ; Dr. Cotton Mather gave

* He was one of the King's Council ; and, for more than twenty years, a Judge of Probate for the county of Eſſex ; he was a man of ſound judgment, and unimpeached integrity. It was remarked, that, during the long period in which he was in the Probate Office, there was never an appeal from his judgment.

gave the right hand of fellowſhip; and the Reverend Angier, of Watertown, and the Reverend Mr. Rogers Ipſwich, joined with them in the impoſition of hands. ſame year, in which he was ordained, he was elected a low of Harvard College; which office he ſuſtained at ſixty years;† and, by his aſſiduous attention to its du together with his prudent counſels, which were greatly ſpected by the government of the univerſity, he eſſenti contributed to the intereſts of that important ſemina As a teſtimonial of the eſtimation of his academical ſervi as well as of his theological character, and public uſefuln the Univerſity of Cambridge, at the commencement 1771, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divin This degree was conferred by the Univerſity but once viouſly to this; and that was conferred on the Re end Increaſe Mather, about eighty years before.*

Dr. Appleton, if venerable for his age, was more ven ble for his piety. His religion, like his whole charac was patriarchal. Born in the laſt century, and living nearly the cloſe of this, he brought down with him habits of "other times." In his dreſs, in his manners his converſation, in his miniſtry, he may be claſſed w the Puritan miniſters, of revered memory, who firſt c to New-England. His natural temper was cheerful; his habitual deportment was grave. Early conſecrated God, and having a fixed predilection for the miniſtry, was happily formed, by the union of good ſenſe with d ſeriouſneſs, of enlightened zeal with conſummate prude for the paſtoral office.

He preached the goſpel with *great plainneſs of ſpeech*, with primitive ſimplicity. Leſs concerned to pleaſe, t to inſtruct and edify, he ſtudiouſly accommodated his courſes to the meaneſt capacity. To this end, he freque ly borrowed ſimilitudes from familiar, ſometimes fr vulg

† He reſigned his Fellowſhip in 1779.

‡ Preſident Wadſworth, ſpeaking of Mr. Appleton, ſays: "I h often thought, it is a great favour not only to the Church and Town Cambridge, but alſo to the College, and therein to the whole Provi that he is fixed in that public poſt and ſtation, aſſigned by Providenc him." Preface to *The Wiſdom of God in the Redemption of Man*

* Preſident Stiles's Literary Diary.

vulgar, objects: but his application of them was ſo pertinent, and his utterance and his air were ſo ſolemn, as to ſuppreſs levity, and ſilence criticiſm.

"Dr. Appleton was poſſeſſed of the learning of his time. The ſcriptures he read in the originals. His expoſition, preached in courſe on the ſabbath, comprehended the whole New Teſtament, the prophecy of Iſaiah, and, I believe, Daniel, and ſome of the minor prophets. It was chiefly deſigned to promote practical piety; but on the prophetical parts, he diſcovered a continued attention, extent of reading, and depth of reſearch, which come to the ſhare of but very few. He not only gave the Proteſtant conſtruction, but that of the Romiſh expoſitors, in order to point out the defects of the latter."* He carefully availed himſelf of ſpecial occurrences, whether proſperous or adverſe, whether affecting individuals, families, his own Society, or the community at large, to obtain a ſerious attention to the truths and duties of religion; and his diſcourſes, on ſuch occaſions, were peculiarly ſolemn and impreſſive. Vigilantly attentive to the ſtate of religion in his paſtoral charge, he marked prevailing errors, and ſins, and pointed his admonitions and cautions againſt them, both in public and private, with conſcientious yet diſcreet fidelity. The diſcipline of the church he maintained with parental tenderneſs, and paſtoral authority. The Committee, for inſpecting the manners of profeſſing Chriſtians, appointed originally by his deſire, and perpetuated for many years by his influence, evinces his care of the honour and intereſts of the church, of which he was the conſtituted overſeer. So great was the aſcendency which he gained over his people, by his diſcretion and moderation, by his condeſcenſion and benevolence, by his fidelity and piety, that, while he lived, they regarded his counſels as oracular; and, ſince his death, they mention not his name but with profound regard and veneration.

His praiſe, not confined to his own ſociety, *is in all the churches* of New-England. In controverſial and difficult caſes, he was often applied to for advice, at eccleſiaſtical Councils. Impartial yet pacific, firm yet conciliatory, he was ſpecially qualified for a counſellor; and in that character

* James Winthrop, Eſquire.

after he materially contributed to the unity, the peace, and order of the churches. With the wiſdom of the ſerpent he happily united the innocence of the dove. In his religious principles, he was, like all his predeceſſors in the miniſtry, a Calviniſt. Towards perſons, however, who were of different principles, he was candid and catholic. "Orthodoxy and Charity" were his motto,* and he happily exemplified the union of both, in his miniſtry, and in his life.

His public uſefulneſs, though diminiſhed, for a few of his laſt years, by the infirmities of age, did not entirely ceaſe but with his life. He died February 9, 1784, in the ninety-firſt year of his age, and ſixty-ſeventh of his miniſtry:—and New-England can furniſh few, if any, inſtances of more uſeful talents, and of more exemplary piety, united with a miniſtry equally long and ſucceſsful.

The baptiſms of children, during his miniſtry, were	204
——— of adults - - - - - -	90
Admiſſions to the fellowſhip of the church - - -	784

His publications are:

The Wiſdom of God in the Redemption of Man, 12mo. 1728;

Diſcourſes on Romans viii. 14. 12mo. 1743;

8 Funeral Sermons;

6 Ordination Sermons;

2 Thankſgiving Sermons;

2 Faſt Sermons;

A Sermon, at the Artillery Election, 1733;

——— at the General Election, 1742;

——— Convention of Miniſters, 1743;

——— on the difference between a legal and evangelical righteouſneſs, 1749;

——— at the Boſton Lecture, 1763;

——— againſt prophane Swearing, 1765.

Dr.

* His portrait, taken by Copley, repreſents him holding a volume of Dr. Watts, entitled "Orthodoxy and Charity." This portrait, which is ſaid to be an excellent likeneſs, is now in the poſſeſſion of Mrs. Appleton, relict of the late Nathaniel Appleton, Eſquire, who was a very worthy and reſpectable ſon of the miniſter of Cambridge. It was reſcued from the fire in Boſton, in 1794, in which Dr. Appleton's MSS. then in the hands of his ſon, were conſumed.

Dr. Appleton's Epitaph :

Sub hoc marmore conduntur,
i MARGARET conjugis ſuæ dilectiſſimæ reliquiis
Exuviæ viri illius reverendi
NATHANIEL APPLETON, S. T. D.
Chriſti eccleſiæ
Apud Cantabrigienſes primæ
Per Annos LXVII
Paſtoris
Docti, fidelis, vigilantis, benevoli.
Majoribus opibuſque ornatus,
Sacrum hoc munus
Omnibus aliis præoptavit.
ıi divini præconis partes ſanctè, fervidè, perſpicuè
Integritatè eximiâ
Peregit.
Principis Paſtoris monitu incitatus
Oves agnoſque gregis ſedulò pavit,
Et circumſpectavit.
Fideles in Chriſto omnes,
Quantumcunque a ſe diverſè ſenſerint,
Amicè complexus eſt.
ebus Academicis ex officio, ſuiſque familiaribus,
Cautè ac prudentèr invigilavit.
Ab omnibus dilectus et obſervatus,
Vixit,
Et ſpe reſurgendi Chriſtiana ſuffultus,
In JESU obdormiit
e Februarii nono, anno Chriſti MDCCLXXXIV,
Ætatis ſuæ XCII.

that be wiſe ſhall ſhine as the brightneſs of the firmament,
ey that turn many to righteouſneſs as the ſtars forever and ever."

Mr. HILLIARD.

Reverend Timothy Hilliard was born in Ken-
ı, New-Hampſhire, in 1746 ; and, in 1760, entered
:d College. " His natural abilities were ſuch, as gave
facility in acquiring knowledge ; and, while he was
:nt, he made ſuch advances in the various branches
of

of useful learning, as laid the foundation for that eminence in his profession, to which he afterward attained."*—When he entered the desk, he was judged not only to have "just views of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity," but to have "experienced their power and efficacy on his own heart."—"His pulpit performances, from the first, were very acceptable," wherever he was providentially called to preach the gospel.

In 1768, he was appointed chaplain of Castle William; and, after officiating in that capacity a few months, he was elected a tutor in Harvard College. Having continued about two years and a half in the tutorship, "the duties of which he discharged with diligence and fidelity," he was invited to settle in the ministry at Barnstable; where he was ordained, April 10, 1771. "He continued his ministry in that place about twelve years, and was in high esteem among his people, both for his preaching, and for all his parochial conduct; at the same time he was greatly valued in all that part of the country. He loved the work of the ministry, and was faithful in the discharge of all its duties."

Finding his health materially injured by the sea air, he was, at length, constrained to remove from Barnstable.† On the confirmation of his health, by a change of air, he became capable of resuming the public services of the ministry; and, after preaching a short time at Cambridge, was invited to the pastoral charge, as colleague with the aged and venerable Dr. Appleton. He accepted the invitation, and was installed, October 27, 1783. On this occasion, he preached a sermon from Titus, ii. 15; the Reverend Dr. Cooper, of Boston, gave the charge; and the Reverend Mr. Cushing, of Waltham, gave the right hand of fellowship.

Placed, by Providence, in this conspicuous station, his sphere

* President Willard's Sermon, at the funeral of Mr. Hilliard; from which this character is selected. The President was contemporary with Mr. Hilliard as a student, and a tutor, and had "a peculiar intimacy with him, for many years."

† "The air in this town is affected by the neighborhood of the sea on each side, from which it derives a dampness and frequently a chill which is disagreeable, if not unfriendly to tender nerves." The Rev. Mr. Mellen's description of Barnstable, in the collections of the Historical Society, III. 12.

there of usefulness became much enlarged, his labours be- now extended to the University.‡ For this new here he was peculiarly qualified. "His pulpit talents ere excellent. He was pleasing in his elocution. In ayer he was exceeded by few, being ready in his utter- ce, pertinent on every occasion, and devotional in his anner. His discourses from the desk were never such as uld be said to have cost him nothing, but were well stu- ed, pure in the diction, replete with judicious sentiments, early and methodically arranged, instructive, serious, actical, and truly evangelical; so that his public services ere useful and edifying to all ranks of men, both learned, id unlearned." He was "ever viewed by the Govern- rs of the University, as an excellent model for the youth nder their care, who were designed for the desk; and they onsidered his introduction into this parish, a most happy vent."

Though he was diligent in acquiring useful knowledge, n its various branches; yet he principally devoted him- elf, as became his profession, to the study of theology. "In the treatment of difficult points in divinity, he was rational and perspicuous; but he was not frequent in handling subjects of doubtful disputation. To inculcate repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and a hearty conformity to the practical precepts of the gospel, he considered of the first importance; and such was the general tenor of his preaching."

To the sick and afflicted he was tenderly attentive. "His mind was formed to sympathy and goodness; be- nevolence was in his heart; the law of kindness in his tongue; and he was always ready, by day and by night, to serve his flock." He was amiable in his temper, pru- dent and conciliatory in his deportment.

Though firm in the maintenance of his own religious sentiments, he was "eminently candid, and ready to em- brace all good men." In public and in private life, he was exemplary for virtue and piety.

His ministrations were very acceptable to the churches in the vicinity of Cambridge. "His excellent talents and ministerial

‡ Ever since the foundation of Harvard College, its officers and stu- lents have attended public worship in the first church in Cambridge.

miniſterial qualifications became more and more known; and his reputation was increaſing," till his death. He was "frequently employed in eccleſiaſtical councils, and had much weight and influence in them."—His printed ſermons did him "much honour."—"There was no miniſter among us," ſaid Preſident Willard, "of his ſtanding, who, perhaps, had a fairer proſpect of becoming extenſively uſeful to the churches of Chriſt in this Commonwealth."

"He was peculiarly engaged in promoting the intereſts of the Univerſity in this place, of which he was a watchful Governor. He was conſtantly ſeeking its utility and fame, and was an attentive and active member of that branch of its legiſlature to which he belonged; and his judgment was always of weight.

"Formed by nature with a delicate ſenſibility, kindneſs of heart and gentleneſs of manners, and endowed with a good underſtanding, a ready mind, reſpectable acquirements, and a facility and pertinency in conveying his ſentiments upon every occaſion, his company was pleaſing, and his converſation improving. His ſocial intercourſe with his brethren in the miniſtry was always agreeable, and he gained their univerſal love and eſteem."

In his laſt illneſs, which was very ſhort, he was ſupported by the Chriſtian hope, which gave him a religious ſuperiority to the fear of death. Juſt before he expired, "he expreſſed his full confidence in God, and ſaid that he enjoyed thoſe conſolations, which he had endeavoured to adminiſter to others. He mentioned his flock with affection, and obſerved, with grateful ſatisfaction, *That he had not ſhunned to declare to them the whole counſel of God, having kept nothing back through fear, or any ſiniſter views.*" He died on the Lord's-day morning, May 9, 1790, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

His publications are:

A Sermon at a Public Faſt;

———— at the Ordination of the Rev. Bezaleel Howard, at Springfield;

———— at the Ordination of the Rev. John Andrews, at Newburyport;

———— at the Execution of White and others, at Cambridge;

———— at the Dudleian Lecture.

Mr.

MR. HILLIARD'S EPITAPH.

In Memory
of
The Reverend TIMOTHY HILLIARD, A. M.
Who
For more than twelve years, was a goſpel Miniſter
Of the firſt church of Chriſt
In Barnſtable,
And for more than ſix years,
Broke the bread of life to the Chriſtian ſociety
In this place.
Having been, in private life,
Cheerful, affable, courteous, amiable,
In his miniſterial character,
Inſtructive, ſerious, ſolemn, faithful,
In full belief of the truths he preached to others,
He fell aſleep in Jeſus, May ix, MDCCXC,
In the XLIVth. year of his age,
In the Chriſtian hope
Of riſing again
To ETERNAL LIFE.

This monument was erected by the bereaved affectionate flock
MDCCXC.

A REVIEW OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NORTH-AMERICA, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH HOSTILITIES ON THE FRONTIERS OF VIRGINIA IN 1753, TO THE SURRENDER OF OSWEGO, ON THE 14TH OF AUGUST, 1756; IN A LETTER* TO A NOBLEMAN.

Interſperſed with various obſervations, characters, and anecdotes; neceſſary to give light into the conduct of American tranſactions in general, and more eſpecially into the political management of affairs in NEW-YORK.

MY LORD,

I ESTEEM myſelf highly honoured, when you requeſt of me, a full account of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ate, of the military operations in North-America; with juſt delineation of the characters of the principal agents our political affairs. Indeed, my Lord, you impoſe a ſk that will require a volume, rather than a letter. As your

* This valuable Letter is ſaid to have been written by the late Gov. Livingſton, and his ends, Meſſrs. W. Smith and Scott, lawyers, New-York.

your Lordſhip's deſire, however, ſhall always carry with me the force of a command, I will engage in it with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs. Forgive me, my Lord, for ſaying I have a ſtill ſtronger motive for compoſing theſe ſheets, than a mere compliance with your Lordſhip's requeſt; to which I would ever pay the profoundeſt regard. When I reflect upon your eminent ſtation—your excelling abilities—your warm and active zeal, for the intereſt and welfare of the Britiſh colonies; I am prompted by an unfeigned deſire of ſerving my country; and ſetting before your Lordſhip's eyes TRUTH, in her plain undiſguiſed habiliments: I would ſtrip her of all that deluſive colouring, with which ſhe hath been artfully varniſhed, by letter-writers from this part of the world; either to ſubſerve ſome mean, ſiniſter, party deſign, or to promote the views of ſome aſpiring and ambitious minds. Candour and integrity ſhall therefore guide my pen; and amidſt the variety with which it is my purpoſe to preſent your Lordſhip, it ſhall be my ſacred endeavour, to the beſt of my knowledge, to attach myſelf to the ſtricteſt—the moſt impartial verity.

The American colonies, I ſpeak it with ſubmiſſion, my Lord, were too long neglected by their mother country; though loudly demanding her patronage and aſſiſtance. Thoſe, on the continent, require her peculiar notice: They may be made an inexhauſtible magazine of wealth; and if ſuffered to fall into the hands of the French, ſuch will be the acceſſion to their already extended commerce and marine ſtrength, that Great-Britain muſt not only loſe her former luſtre, but, dreadful even in thought! ceaſe to be any longer an independent power. Nay, ſhould every other ſcheme fail, the ſucceſs of this will inevitably accompliſh the long-projected deſign of that aſpiring nation, for ſetting up an Univerſal Monarchy: for, if France rule the ocean, her reſources will enable her to ſubject all Europe to her deſpotic ſway. But it is unneceſſary to offer any arguments in ſupport of a propoſition, of which the public ſeems to remain no longer inſenſible. Happy for us, had theſe ſentiments prevailed earlier, and been more frequently inculcated!

The importance of the colonies, my Lord, was too little conſidered, till the commencement of the laſt war. The reduction

duction of Cape Breton by the people of New-England, an acquiſition ſo unexpected and fortunate, that Amer- became, on that remarkable event, a more general topic converſation. Mr. Shirley, the governor of the Maſſachu- ts Bay, was the principal projector of that glorious en- prize: An enterprize, which reduced to the obedience his Britannick Majeſty, the DUNKIRK of North-Ameri- Of ſuch conſequence to the French, was the poſſeſſion that important key to their American ſettlements, that reſtitution was, in reality, the purchaſe of the laſt gen- al Peace in Europe.

Of all our plantation governors, my Lord, Mr. Shirley moſt diſtinguiſhed for his ſingular abilities. He was rn in England, and bred up to the law, at one of the ns of Court. In that profeſſion, he afterwards practiſed, r ſeveral years, in the Maſſachuſetts Bay: and, in 1741, as advanced by his Majeſty to the ſupreme command of at colony. He is a gentleman of great political ſagacity, ep penetration, and indefatigable induſtry. With re- ect to the wiſdom and equity of his adminiſtration, he an boaſt the univerſal ſuffrage of a wiſe, free, jealous, and oral people. Though not bred to arms, he is eminently oſſeſſed of theſe important military virtues. An extent of apacity to form and execute great deſigns; profound ſe- recy; love of regularity and diſcipline; a frugal and aborious manner of living; with the art of conciliating he affections; a talent which Hannibal admired in Pyrr- us, above all the reſt of his martial accompliſhments. In he firſt of theſe great qualities, Mr. Shirley is univerſally cknowledged to ſhine: and it is, in reality, more eſtima- le, than all other military endowments without it; con- iſting, to uſe the words of that diſcerning hiſtorian Mr. Rollin, "*in having great views; in forming plans at a diſ-* '*tance; in propoſing a deſign, from which the author never de-* '*parts; in concerting all the meaſures neceſſary for its ſucceſs;* '*in knowing how to ſeize the favourable moments of occaſion,* '*which are rapid in their courſe, and never return; to make* '*even ſudden and unforeſeen accidents ſubſervient to a plan; in* '*a word, to be upon the watch againſt every thing, without be-* '*ing perplexed and diſconcerted by any event.*" But, whether t ariſes from his being ſo far advanced in years, or from his

his conſtitutional diſpoſition and make, he has not, in my opinion, that activity and alertneſs ſo conducive to warm expedition; and on which the ſucceſs of an enterprize frequently depends. This was one of the characteriſtics of Braddock; a commander, vigorous in executing, as Mr. Shirley, judicious in contriving a plan—*ſed non omnia poſſemus omnes*—and 'tis eaſier, my Lord, to find active hands, than able heads. No man perhaps in the nation has beſtowed more attention upon the ſtate of the colonies in general: and having their intereſt ſincerely at heart, he has been perpetually concerting expedients, advancive of their proſperity, and to check the views of an all-graſping Monarch. Upon the reduction of Louiſburgh, he earneſtly recommended to his Majeſty's miniſter, the demolition of that fortreſs, and an expedition againſt the French ſettlements in Canada. The reaſons why he ſucceeded in neither of theſe propoſals, I cannot take upon me to aſſign. His Majeſty, however, ſenſible of his ſervices, gave him a regiment in 1746; and upon the concluſion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, ſent him as one of the Britiſh commiſſaries to Paris, for ſettling the controverted limits between the two Crowns in America. Amidſt all the ſplendors and delicacies of Verſailles, he forgot neither OUR intereſt, nor HIS duty. As a proof of his integrity and diligence, during that fruitleſs embaſſy, one need only peruſe theſe judicious and laborious memorials, in ſupport of his Majeſty's right to Nova-Scotia, which were principally framed by him; and lately publiſhed by order of the Lords of Trade, as a full exhibit of our title to that part of America. When no ſatisfaction could, in this way, be obtained from the Court of France; which was artfully endeavouring to ſpin out the negociation, and at the ſame time fortifying the places in queſtion, as well as making new acquiſitions; the Britiſh commiſſaries retired from the French Court, and Mr. Shirley reſumed his government in New-England in Auguſt 1753.

The French, jealous of the growth of the Engliſh colonies, were now meditating all poſſible arts to diſtreſs them, and extend the limits of their own frontier. The marquis Du Queſne, an enterpriſing genius, was at this time inveſted with the ſupreme command of New France. Our provinces were quickly alarmed by the French ſettlements, which

which he this year began on the banks of the Ohio. Virginia, appearing more immediately concerned, Mr. Dinwiddie* wrote, on the 31ſt of October, to the commandant of the French forces there, complaining of ſundry late hoſtilities: and deſiring to know, by what authority an armed force had marched from Canada, and invaded a territory indubitably the right of his Britannick Majeſty. Major Waſhington, a gentleman of whom I ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to make honourable mention, was the bearer of this letter. He returned with an anſwer from Monſ. Legardeur De St. Pierre, dated at the fort on Beuf River, 15th December, 1753; of which the following is an exact tranſlation:

"*AS I have the honour to command here in chief, Mr.* "*Waſhington delivered me the letter, which you directed to the* "*commandant of the French troops. I ſhould have been pleaſed* "*if you had given him orders, or if he himſelf had been diſpoſed,* "*to viſit Canada and our general; to whom, rather than to me,* "*it properly appertains to demonſtrate the reality of the King my* "*maſter's rights to lands ſituated along the Ohio, and to diſpute* "*the pretenſions of the King of Great-Britain in that reſpect.*

"*I ſhall immediately forward your letter to Monſ. Le Mar-* "*quis Du Queſne. His anſwer will be a law to me: and if he* "*directs me to communicate it to you, I aſſure you, Sir, I ſhall* "*neglect nothing that may be neceſſary to convey it to you with* "*expedition.*

"*As to the requiſition you make (that I retire with the troops* "*under my command) I cannot believe myſelf under any obliga-* "*tion to ſubmit to it. I am here, in virtue of my general's or-* "*ders; and I beg, Sir, you would not doubt a moment of my* "*fixed reſolution to conform to them, with all the exactitude and* "*ſteadineſs that might be expected from a better officer.*

"*I do not know that, in the courſe of this campaign, any thing* "*has paſſed that can be eſteemed an act of hoſtility, or contrary* "*to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; the continu-* "*ation of which is as intereſting and pleaſing to us, as it can be* "*to the Engliſh. If it had been agreeable to you, Sir, in this* "*reſpect, to have made a particular detail of the facts which oc-* "*caſion your complaint, I ſhould have had the honour of anſwer-*

"*ing*

* Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia.

" *ing you in the moſt explicit manner ; and I am perſuaded you* " *would have had reaſon to be ſatisfied.*

" *I have taken particular care to receive Mr. Waſhington* " *with all the diſtinction ſuitable to your dignity, and to his qual-* " *ity and great merit. I flatter myſelf that he will do me this* " *juſtice, and join with me in teſtifying the profound reſpect with* " *which I am,* " *SIR,*

" *Your moſt humble and*
" *moſt obedient Servant,*
" *Legardeur De St. Pierre.*"

On the receipt of this reſolute anſwer, Mr. Dinwiddie made inſtant complaint to the Court of Great-Britain ; and by alarming ſpeeches laboured to rouſe the Virginians into a vigorous oppoſition. He wrote alſo to the neighbouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colonies, for repelling the invaſion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela. An immediate junction in ſuch meaſures became abſolutely requiſite for our common ſecurity. But the colonies, alas ! were ſunk into a profound lethargy ; and, reſigned to ſtupidity and ſlumbering, appeared inſenſible of the threatening danger. They contemned the power of Canada ; confided in the number of their inhabitants ; inattentive were they to the inconveniencies of an endleſs frontier ; and, in ſhort, intirely unacquainted with the ſituation of the inland country. The waters of the Ohio, before this period, were ſcarcely known, ſave to a few Indian traders ; and the generality deemed thoſe French ſettlements too remote to be the object of dread, and a matter of inſignificant moment. Accordingly, when application was made for ſuccours to Virginia, conformable to directions from the miniſtry, ſome of our provincial aſſemblies, particularly thoſe of Pennſylvania* and New-York,† ſeemed even to queſtion his Majeſty's title

* " You would not admit, that the French encroachments and forti- " fications on the Ohio were within our limits, or his Majeſty's domin- " ions, thereby ſeeking an excuſe to avoid doing what was required of " you." *Gov. Morris's meſſage to the aſſembly of Pennſylvania, 22 Nov. 1755.*

† " It appears, by other papers your Honour has been pleaſed to " communicate

le to the lands uſurped by the French. Others, to avoid
eir ſhare in the burden, framed the moſt trifling excuſes.
w-York, however, voted £.5000 currency in aid of Vir-
ia; which, conſidering her own ſituation, and approach-
diſtreſs, was no ungenerous contribution.

The Virginians nevertheleſs proceeded in their reſolu-
n of marching a body of troops to the protection of
ir frontiers: and paſſed an act in February, 1754, for
ſing £.10,000 and 300 men. The command was given
Col. Waſhington, a young gentleman of great bravery
d diſtinguiſhed merit. By his Majeſty's direction, two
the regular independent companies of foot at New-York
re ordered to the frontier of that dominion. They em-
:ked for Virginia on board the Centaur man of war;
ich unfortunately did not ſail from thence till the mid-
of June, and carried the money before mentioned to
affiſtance of that colony.

Col. Waſhington began his march, at the head of his lit-
army, about the 1ſt of May. On the 28th he had a
miſh with the enemy, of whom ten were ſlain, and
out twenty made priſoners. But this publick-ſpirited of-
r ſoon experienced a reverſe of fortune. Waiting for
ther reinforcements, he was alarmed with an account,
t 900 French and 200 Indians were advancing from the
lo; who accordingly in two days after* came up, and
engagement immediately enſued. Our troops were but
andful compared to the number of the enemy, conſiſt-
only of about three hundred effective men. After a
orous reſiſtance for three hours, in which it was ſaid
r two hundred of the French and their Indian allies
re ſlain; Col. Waſhington, obſerving the great ſuperi-
y of the enemy, who now began to hem him in on all
quarters,

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ommunicate to us, that the French have built a fort at a place called
he French Creek, at a conſiderable diſtance from the river Ohio,
hich may, but does not by any evidence or information appear to
s to be an invaſion of any of his Majeſty's colonies."

Addreſs of the general aſſembly to Lieut. Gov.
De Lancey, 23 April, 1754.

* The third of July.

quarters, found himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of ſubmitting to the diſagreeable terms that were offered him.†

In this action we had thirty killed and fifty wounded. The French were obſerved to be aſſiſted by a conſiderable number of Indians, who had been long in the Engliſh alliance: Not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawaneſe, and of the Six Nations.* On the ſurrender of our

† *The terms of capitulation granted by Monſ. De Villier, captain and commander of the Infantry of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to thoſe Engliſh troops actually in Fort Neceſſity, which is built on the land of the king's dominions.*

AS our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and harmony which reigns between the two princes in amity, but only to revenge the aſſaſſination which has been done on one of our officers, bearer of a ſtation, as appears by his writing; as alſo to hinder any eſtabliſhment on the lands in the dominions of the king my maſter; upon theſe conſiderations, we are willing to grant protection and favour to all the Engliſh that are in the ſaid fort, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned.

ARTICLE I. We grant the Engliſh commander, to retire with all his garriſon, and to return peaceably into his own country; and promiſe to hinder his receiving any inſults from us French, and to reſtrain, as much as ſhall be in our power, the ſavages that are with us.

ART. II. That the Engliſh be permitted to march out, and carry every thing with them, except the artillery, which we keep.

ART. III. That we will allow the Engliſh all the honours of war; and that they ſhall march out with drums beating, and with a ſwivel gun;—that we are willing to ſhew that we treat them as friends.

ART. IV. That as ſoon as the articles are ſigned by both parties, they ſtrike the Engliſh colours.

ART. V. That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of the French ſhall make the garriſon file off, and take poſſeſſion of the fort: And as the Engliſh have a few horſes or oxen, they are free to hide their effects, and come and ſearch for them when they have met their horſes: And that they may for this end have guardians, in what manner they pleaſe, upon condition that they will give their word of honour, not to work upon any building in this place, or in any part this ſide the mountains, during a year, to be accounted from this day. And as the Engliſh have now in their power an officer, two cadets, and moſt of the priſoners made in the aſſaſſination of Sieur Deſamonville, that they promiſe to ſend them back to the Fort De Du Queſne, ſituate on the *Fine River*: And for the ſecurity of this article, as well as this treaty, Meſſ. Jacob Van Bracham and Robert Stobo, both captains, ſhall be put as hoſtages, till the arrival of the Canadians and French abovementioned. We oblige ourſelves, on our ſide, to give an eſcort to return in ſafety theſe two officers; a duplicate being made upon or of the poſt of our blockade. July 3, 1754.

* They are called Mingoes by the ſouthern Indians.

our camp they fell at once to pillaging the baggage and proviſions; and not content with this, they afterwards ſhot ſome of the horſes and cattle, and ſcalped two of the wounded.†

Againſt this conduct, Col. Waſhington remonſtrated, but all his arguments made but little impreſſion upon them. The Canadians delight in blood; and in barbarity exceed, if poſſible, the very ſavages themſelves. Thus the French remained maſters of the field; the Indians were riveted in their defection; his Majeſty's arms unſucceſsful; and our frontiers expoſed, through the ill-timed parſimony of the provinces. The enemy, on the other hand, wiſely improved the preſent advantage, and erected forts, to ſecure to themſelves the quiet poſſeſſion of that fertile country. How evident then was the neceſſity of uniting the power of the Britiſh colonies! The expediency of a plan for that purpoſe had been before conſidered. Some meaſures ſeemed alſo abſolutely requiſite for ſupporting our Indian intereſt, and preventing their total declenſion.

Accordingly, agreeable to his Majeſty's orders, the 14th of June was appointed for a grand congreſs of commiſſaries from the ſeveral provinces, to be held at Albany, as well to treat with the Six Nations, as to concert a ſcheme for a general union of the Britiſh colonies. Meſſengers had been diſpatched to the Indian caſtles‡ to requeſt their attendance; but they did not arrive till the latter end of the month; and the Mohawks, who live but 40 miles diſtant, came in laſt. This occaſioned various ſpeculations: ſome imputed it to fear; leſt the French, in their abſence, ſhould fall upon their countries: Others to art, imagining that by exciting our jealouſy of their wavering diſpoſition, at ſo critical a juncture, the more liberal would be the preſents made them by the ſeveral governments. Not a few thought it an artifice of Mr. Johnſon's, who expecting to riſe into importance, from the reputation of a mighty

† Among other infractions of the capitulation, the deſtruction of the doctor's box ought not to be forgotten; by which means our wounded were barbarouſly diſtreſſed.

See Col. Innes's letter of 12 July, 1754.

‡ The Indians call their villages, which are only ſurrounded with palliſades, caſtles.

mighty influence over the Indians, kept them to a punctual attendance; being very confident of a publick requeſt to himſelf from the commiſſioners, to go up, and haſten their progreſs. There was the higheſt evidence of the like piece of policy at an Indian treaty, during Mr. Clinton's adminiſtration. The Indians however at length arrived, though fewer in number than was expected, or had been uſual on thoſe ſolemn occaſions. Hendrick, a noted Mohawk ſachem,* apologized for the delay of that canton, in a ſpeech to this effect: "*There was (ſaid he) an "interview laſt fall, between Col. Johnſon and the Six Nations, "at Onondaga. Our brethren of the other nations reported, "that his ſpeech to us was concerted by the Mohawks: We "therefore come laſt, to prevent any ground for the repetition "of ſuch ſlanders, with regard to the addreſs now to be made "us by your Honour.*"

The Congreſs having been opened on the 18th of June, were ready to treat with the Six Nations; and on the 29th, after ſettling diſputes between the commiſſioners concerning rank and precedence, Mr. De Lancey, the Lieut. Governor of New-York, addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the Indians.—On his right hand, were Meſſrs. Murray and Johnſon, two of the council of New-York; next to them, Meſſrs. Wells, Hutchinſon, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington, commiſſioners from the Maſſachuſetts Bay; then the gentlemen from New-Hampſhire, Meſſrs. Wibird, Atkinſon, Weare, and Sherburne; and laſt on that ſide, Meſſrs. Hopkins and Howard, commiſſioners of Rhode-Iſland. On his left were ſeated, Meſſrs. Chambers and Smith, two other of his Majeſty's council for New-York; then the Connecticut commiſſioners, Lieutenant-Governor Pitkin, Major Woolcot, and Col. Williams; after them, Meſſrs. Penn, Peters, Norris, and Franklin, from Pennſylvania; and laſt of all, Col. Taſker and Maj. Barnes, from Maryland.

The treaty was conducted with great ſolemnity. The Indians appeared well pleaſed with the preſents from the ſeveral governments; which, compared to former donations, amounted to an immenſe value: But in their anſwer

* A ſachem is a warrior, and a man of an eſtabliſhed reputation for his wiſdom and bravery, among the Indians.

ſuggeſted upon us the deſertion of our fort‡ at Saratoga the laſt war; lamented the defenceleſs condition of our frontier city of Albany; and extolled the better conduct of the French, in fortifying and maintaining their garriſons.

The Indians being diſmiſſed, the conferences were continued till the 11th of July. The commiſſioners were, both for abilities and fortune, ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in North-America. The ſpeakers, however, were not many; but of thoſe who ſpoke, ſome delivered themſelves with ſingular energy and eloquence. All were inflamed with a patriot ſpirit, and the debates were nervous and pathetic. This aſſembly, my Lord, might very properly be compared to one of the ancient Greek conventions, for ſupporting their expiring liberty againſt the power of the Perſian empire, or that LEWIS of Greece, Philip of Macedon. In the concluſion, a plan was concerted for a general union of the Britiſh colonies, and creating a common fund to defray all military expences; and a repreſentation of their preſent ſtate drawn up; which were agreed to be laid before the King's miniſters. Some of the governments have nevertheleſs declared themſelves averſe to this ſcheme; though approved at the time by every member of the congreſs, except Mr. De Lancey. Unaccountable was the conduct of this gentleman to ſeveral of the provincial deputies. But thoſe who were beſt acquainted with his character and love of ſway, aſcribed his averſion from the plan, to an apprehenſion, that ſhould the ſame take place, the ſupreme officer, who agreeably to it was to preſide in the grand council of deputies from the reſpective colonies, would moſt probably be the governor of the Maſſachuſetts Bay: An apprehenſion, which repreſſed his own aſpiring views; and it was imagined, ſtung him with unſpeakable chagrin.

As the Lieutenant-Governor will appear, in the courſe of this letter, to bear a principal part in our public tranſactions, it will be neceſſary, before I proceed any farther, to preſent your Lordſhip with his picture at full length. Without

‡ Upon the diſbanding of the forces raiſed for the Canada expedition in 1746, and the aſſembly's diſinclination to garriſon it, the fort, by order of Mr. Clinton, was burnt and abandoned.

Without an intimate knowledge of that gentleman's history and genius, it will be impoſſible to comprehend his conduct, or trace his actions, to their genuine ſource.

He is the eldeſt branch of one of the firſt families in the province. His father, a French refugee, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed rank in this city, and who here acquired a large fortune, ſent him for his education to the Univerſity of Cambridge. He was a youth of prompt parts, and made a conſiderable progreſs in learning, eſpecially in the claſſics. In the year 1729, he was, by Governor Montgomery's recommendation, created one of his Majeſty's council of New-York; but never engaged the public attention, till the time of Mr. Coſby. He became then very famous. With this governor he took part in moſt or all of his meaſures; meaſures extremely arbitrary, and productive of an adminiſtration odious and turbulent. Coſby, in return for his miniſterial ſervices, loaded him with favours. Depoſing Chief Juſtice Morris (the main obſtacle to his perilous projects) he raiſed him to the firſt ſeat on the bench.* But though his excellency had the diſpoſition of offices, he could by no means delegate the affections of the people. Accordingly, our politician was equally honoured and deſpiſed. He enjoyed the ſmiles of the governor, which loaded him with the curſes of the people; was careſſed by the former, and by the latter abhorred. Coſby leaving a ſucceſſor capable of governing without a prompter, the chief juſtice found it neceſſary to deface the memory of his former conduct, by cultivating the arts of popularity. Mr. Clarke, who ſucceeded,† being perfectly maſter of our conſtitution, a gentleman of experience and penetration, and intimately acquainted with the temper of the people, in a ſhort time reconciled all parties; and by reſtoring the public tranquillity, rendered Mr. De Lancey's plodding abilities utterly uſeleſs. Hence he was at full leiſure to court the populace. Suddenly he became transformed into a patriot; and, ſtrange to relate! without a ſingle act of

* Mr. De Lancey was not educated to the law; but having ſpent ſome time, after his return from England, in the ſtudy of that ſcience, Gov. Montgomery appointed him ſecond judge of the ſupreme Court of Judicature.

† In March, 1736.

of patriotism. His uncommon vivacity, with the ſemblance of affability and eaſe; his adroitneſs at a jeſt, with a ſhew of condeſcenſion to his inferiors, wonderfully facilitated his progreſs. Theſe plauſible arts, together with his influence as chief juſtice, and a vaſt perſonal eſtate at uſe, all conſpired to ſecure his popular triumph. To eſtabliſh ſuch an undue power, and amazing influence, would, in a Grecian commonwealth, have expoſed a man of leſs ambition and better principles to the oſtraciſm. Mr. Clarke being ſuperſeded by Governor Clinton,* Mr. De Lancey was preſented with a freſh opportunity for the exhibition of his political genius. Mr. Clinton, a gentleman of but indifferent parts, wholly reſigned himſelf into his hands. Contenting himſelf with the title and ſalary of governor, he left the ſole direction of affairs to his miniſter, who, by virtue of his late acquired omnipotence with the aſſembly, carried all his points, and even endeared him to the people. This intimacy ſubſiſted no longer than it was found conducive to his deſigns. Having obtained from Mr. Clinton a new commiſſion for his office of chief juſtice *during good behaviour*; and flattering himſelf with the hopes of another, appointing him lieutenant-governor, through the intereſt of his friends in England, he cared not how ſoon his excellency abdicated the province, nor how tempeſtuous he rendered his adminiſtration; and was therefore prepared for an open rupture. He no ſooner thought himſelf capable of acting independently of the governor, than, like Sixtus Quintus, who threw aſide his crutches the moment of his exaltation to the popedom, he put off all that humble devotion, by which he had ſo fatally deceived his too credulous maſter, and openly ſet himſelf at defiance againſt him. Now he began to dictate, rather than adviſe: and, inſtead of Sejanus, choſe to be Tiberius himſelf. Dining one day with Mr. Clinton, and inſiſting upon ſome favourite point with great imperiouſneſs, the governor, who had hitherto very cordially ſuffered himſelf to be led, refuſed on this occaſion to be driven. The Chief Juſtice then aroſe and left him; declaring, with an oath, he would make his adminiſtration uneaſy for the future: His Excellency replied, he might do his worſt. Thus they parted; nor were ever

* Mr. Clinton arrived as governor, 22 Sept. 1743.

ever afterwards reconciled. This breach gave rise to the contentions, which ſo unhappily embroiled our provincial affairs, during the remainder of his adminiſtration. The aſſembly were inſtantly inflamed. He who before had been able to make them connive at very unjuſtifiable ſteps, could at once ſtir up an oppoſition to the moſt unexceptionable meaſures. Remonſtrances, warm and virulent, were now drawn up; unworthy their own dignity to offer, and replete with the groſſeſt language to his Majeſty's repreſentative. Thus was formed againſt Mr. Clinton a powerful party, which ceaſed not, while he continued at the helm, to haraſs and perplex him. To ſuch an exorbitant length did they carry their oppoſition, as to throw off the reſtraint of humanity: They had even recourſe to force and violence. Nay, a partiſan of the Chief Juſtice, in defiance of the ſacred rights of the magiſtracy and the law, to ſhew his reſentment againſt Mr. Clinton and his adherents, aſſaulted the mayor; whipped the ſheriff; damned the Governor; and ſtabbed his phyſician. My Lord, we became the ſport and contempt of our neighbours; and it is beyond contradiction, that Mr. De Lancey, by blowing up the coals of contention, did the province more injury, than he will be ever able to repair. Nor is there any reaſon to doubt, that the enormous power of this gentleman, and the ferment raiſed againſt Mr. Clinton, occaſioned the 39th article of the King's inſtructions to Sir Danvers Oſborn; which appears purpoſely calculated to render our future Governors independent on his influence over the aſſembly: For a law indefinite, making proviſion for the ſalary allowed by the King to his Governors; and competent ſalaries to all judges, juſtices, and other neceſſary officers and miniſters of government; ſuch a law, I ſay, would effectually render a Governor independent of the aſſembly, and conſequently of any undue influence in it. Nor without ſuch independence, or an abridgement of Mr. De Lancey's power, by reducing him to his primitive private ſtation, do I ſee any probability of the extinction of that party-ſpirit, which hath ſo long diſturbed the tranquillity, and injured the publick weal of the colony. Mr. Clinton, being ſuperſeded by Sir Danvers Oſborn,* a gentleman of a moſt amiable

* Sir Danvers Oſborn arrived at New-York the 7th of October, 1753.

amiable moral character, retired into the country; from whence he propoſed to embark for Great-Britain. The Chief Juſtice, notwithſtanding his long declared enmity, and unwearied induſtry to embarraſs his adminiſtration, had now—the humility, ſhall I call it?—to diſpatch a meſſenger to him, with deſign, if poſſible, to procure an accommodation, in order to ſecure his favour in England, when he could no longer diſtreſs him in America. It were difficult to determine, whether this required a higher degree of aſſurance or ſervility. But it is no uncommon thing, to behold the ſame perſon faſtidious and fawning, ſupercilious and ſycophantic. Mr. Clinton, far from an implacable enemy, began to be ſoftened; when his lady (who, if born among the Scythians, had been the Thaleſtris of antiquity) unravelling the ſecret, fruſtrated at once all expectations of a compoſition; and gave the plenipotentiary ſuch a volley of invective againſt his conſtituent, as rendered all future overtures entirely hopeleſs.

On the death of Sir Danvers Oſborn,† equally unexpected and deplored, Mr. De Lancey publiſhed the commiſſion he had juſt received appointing him Lieutenant-Governor. He was now to act a part entirely new, and demanding the full exertion of his political dexterity. In the firſt place, he had to convince the miniſtry of his utmoſt efforts to carry the King's inſtructions in the houſe of repreſentatives: And in the next, in order to preſerve his popularity with the aſſembly, and not in the moſt flagrant manner counteract his avowed principles, he was to ſatisfy them, that in reality he by no means expected their compliance with them. To execute the former part of this plan, in his ſpeech of the 31ſt of October, 1753, to the council and general aſſembly, he ſays: "*You will perceive by the* 39*th* "*article of his Majeſty's inſtructions to Sir Danvers Oſborn,* "*(copies of which I ſhall herewith deliver you*) how highly his* "*Majeſty*

† This happened on the 12th of October, 1753.

* The 39th inſtruction was publiſhed in one of our newſpapers, and reprinted in England. The publication of it was thought to have been intended to excite the popular clamour; and it occaſioned the reſentment of the miniſtry. It is worth remarking, that copies of ſeveral other inſtructions were expreſsly ordered by his Majeſty to be laid before the aſſembly; but no ſuch directions were given with reſpect to this.

" *Majeſty is diſpleaſed at the neglect of, and contempt ſhewn t*
" *his royal commiſſion and inſtructions, by your paſſing laws of*
" *extraordinary a nature, and by ſuch your unwarrantable pr*
" *ceedings, particularly ſet forth in this inſtruction : Hence a*
" *his Majeſty's royal pleaſure as to theſe matters will appea*
" *and what he expects from you. On this head, I muſt obſer*
" *to you, that by our excellent conſtitution the executive power*
" *lodged in the crown : That all government is founded on*
" *confidence, that every perſon will diſcharge the duty of his ſt*
" *tion ; and if there ſhould be any abuſe of power, that the leg*
" *and regular courſe is to make application to his Majeſty, wh*
" *having a paternal tenderneſs for all his ſubjects, is alwa*
" *ready to hear and redreſs their grievances.*" And th
addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly in particular : " *I mi*
" *earneſtly preſs it upon you, that in preparing your bill for t*
" *ſupport of government and other public ſervices, you pay a d*
" *regard to his Majeſty's pleaſure ſignified in his inſtruction*
" *and frame them in ſuch a manner, as, when laid before me f*
" *my aſſent, I may give it conſiſtent with my duty to his Majeſty*
What think you, my Lord ? could your favourite Garri
have perſonated Richard the Third in a livelier manner th
this gentleman the *real* advocate for the royal inſtructio
Could the man, who but a day or two before had intrigu
with the members how to elude that very inſtruction, pr
ſerve his gravity, while acting ſuch a tragi-comical farce ? f
that, my Lord, was the method in which he performed t
ſecond part of his plan. As his Majeſty's repreſentative,
was obliged to urge their compliance with ſeeming ſinceri
and warmth ; but as James De Lancey, Eſq. their old frie
and beſt adviſer, it was his real ſentiment, that nev
ought they to ſubmit.

Matters being thus previouſly adjuſted, the aſſembly,
their addreſs, ſtudiouſly avoid a categorical anſwer with r
ſpect to the indefinite ſupport : But to gratify his Honou
and blacken the memory of Mr. Clinton, that he migh
not prejudice him in England, they make uſe of th
memorable evaſion : " *On reading the 39th article of h*
" *Majeſty's inſtructions to Sir Danvers Oſborn, your Honour*
" *immediate predeceſſor, we are extremely ſurpriſed to find, th*
" *the public tranſactions of this colony have been ſo maliciou*
" *miſrepreſented to our moſt gracious Sovereign. We can, Si*
" *wi*

with truth and juſtice affirm, that his Majeſty has not in his Dominions a people more firmly, and that from principles of real affection, devoted to his perſon, family, and government, than the inhabitants of this colony. And we are greatly at a loſs to diſcover in what inſtances the peace and tranquillity of the colony have been diſturbed, or wherein order and government have been ſubverted. If the courſe of juſtice has been obſtructed, or in any caſe perverted, it has been by the direction, or through the means, of Mr. Clinton, late Governor of this province, who ſent peremptory orders to the judges, clerk, and ſheriff of Ducheſs County, to ſtay proceſs, and ſtop the proceedings in ſeveral caſes of private property, depending in that court; and who did, in other counties, commiſſionate judges and juſtices of known ill characters, and extreme ignorance: One ſtood even preſented for perjury in the ſupreme court of this province, whom he rewarded *with the office of aſſiſtant judge; and others were ſo ſhamefully ignorant and illiterate, as to be unable to write their own names. From whence we greatly fear, that juſtice has in many caſes been partially, or very unduly adminiſtered.*"

I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with a vindication of Mr. Clinton; but only obſerve, that the ſuits commenced in Ducheſs County were by deſerters againſt their captains;* that the Governor, who was no lawyer, aſſured the houſe, his letters to the juſtices were written unadviſedly, and with precipitation; and that if any man was injured, he would readily compenſate his damages. And as to the charge of appointing ignorant juſtices, it lies with equal truth againſt all our governors, (Mr. De Lancey himſelf not excepted) who to influence elections, have gone into an unjuſtifiable practice of intruſting blank commiſſions with certain favourites in the reſpective counties, impowered to place and diſplace civil and military officers at their pleaſure. Theſe election jobbers are generally the court members in aſſembly: And decency, my Lord, ſhould have induced them to ſtifle the ridiculous aſſertion, that Mr. Clinton *rewarded* a man for being perjured; as well as the more pertinent invective againſt the dangerous uſage juſt mentioned, for corrupting the houſe of repreſentatives. But to diſgrace Mr. Clinton was expedient to the Lieutenant-Governor; and hence this attack upon the former. Upon

* Captains of the levies raiſed for the Canada expedition in 1746.

Upon his Honour's advancement to the government the preſs laboured with addreſſes; and the incenſe offered upon the occaſion might have perfumed the whole temple of Delphos. It was not enough, that, agreeable to ancient uſage, he was preſented with the compliments of public bodies alone. It was neceſſary, from the number of addreſſes, to diſplay his extenſive influence, and the univerſal joy; thereby, if poſſible, to lay the foundation of his continuance in the adminiſtration. Accordingly, the very militia officers and ſupervisors of Queen's County (a motley aſſemblage!) were made to groan out their aſpirations for this auſpicious event: "*Oh! that his gracious Majeſty* "*would be pleaſed to confirm and fix you, for a long time, in* "*this exalted ſtation.*" Never have I ſeen an inſignificant interjection more inſignificantly employed. To ſo extravagant a pitch, my Lord, did this exuberant ardor arrive, that we at length found him cloathed with an incommunicable attribute of the Deity himſelf, even his immutable moral rectitude. "*Theſe things in you (ſay they) are not ſo* "*properly called virtues, as* NATURAL ENDOWMENTS. *You* "*will not, you* CANNOT *act otherwiſe than you do.*" With *ſuch fuſtian* can ſome men be regaled: and by *ſuch fuſtian* is oftentimes a whole nation deluded.

To proceed in the character of this remarkable American: He is a perſon of quick apprehenſion, and extenſive acquaintance with the law; which he acquired with incredible application, to obliterate the indifferent figure he made, when firſt elevated to the chief ſeat on the bench, to ſerve the purpoſes of Governor Coſby. Without the talents, he has all the ambition of a Ripperda. His thirſt after popularity, which in him is a mere engine of ſtate, hath almoſt baniſhed all public ſpirit; and the triumphs of power occaſioned the exile of common ſenſe. Apprehenſive of the diminution of his own luſtre, his jealouſy will not admit a competitor; but ſets him at mortal odds with a riſing, independent ſpirit, leſt it be rewarded with popular favour, and thence reſult into popular intereſt, in derogation of his own ſovereign influence. Hence, whoever would accompliſh a patriot meaſure, muſt either obtain his leave; and then he arrogates to himſelf the merit due to its author; or carry it by mere ſtratagem, without

which

which he may be ſure of a diſappointment. In the latter caſe, he has generally addreſs enough to be revenged on the projector, by rendering both him and his project univerſally odious. Some among us ſee theſe arts; many ſuſpect them; few dare mention them; and fewer ſtill oppoſe them. Thus a people, who would by no means be forcibly deprived of their liberties, poſt into voluntary bondage: and they who would ſcorn a vaſſalage to the greateſt monarch, become dupes to a dictator of their own creation.

Of all provincial affairs he is the uncontroled director. As chief juſtice, great is his intereſt in the counties: with that intereſt he commands elections; with his ſway in elections he rules the aſſembly; and with his ſovereignty over the houſe controls a governor. His influence with the members of the aſſembly being the main ſource of his exorbitant power, never will he ſerve the Crown at the riſk of a diſſention with the houſe. He will only ſtand by a governor while at his devotion, and ſtanding fair with the people; but, in caſe of a rupture, inſtantly ſacrifice prerogative on the altar of popularity. His own intereſt is his idol, and every thing elſe made ſubſervient to procure it veneration and eſteem. The men, who are his greateſt tools, are generally by himſelf the moſt deſpiſed; and ſometimes treated with deſpite and inſult. If they diſcover the leaſt freedom of reſentment (which few of them dare diſcover) he can with a ſmile, or a joke, or a promiſe, or a bottle, at once diſſipate the ſtruggling reſolution, and reduce them to their primitive obſequiouſneſs. By hints, by threats and blandiſhments, by emiſſaries, by dark inſinuations and private cabals, he is able to render any meaſure hateful or popular; to put down, or raiſe up, whom, when, and what he pleaſes. Nay, my Lord, I will venture to affirm, and every man in the province muſt bear me teſtimony, that while his influence continues to be ſupported with his office of chief juſtice, no operation, in which this colony is concerned, can promiſe ſucceſs, ſhould this monopolizer of power be determined to obſtruct it.

Should it now be inquired, Muſt not a man, ſo extremely popular, be neceſſarily poſſeſſed of eminent virtue,

and warmly devoted to the weal of the people, who thus cordially reſound his fame, ſubmit to his control, and agree to adorn his triumph? The queſtion can only come from a novice in hiſtory, and a ſtranger to mankind. In the judgment of your Lordſhip, who is deeply read in both, I am confident that popularity is no indication of merit. With the deluded multitude the beſt men are often unpopular; the moſt pernicious, extolled and adored. The people are ever ready to be bewitched, cheated, and enſlaved, by a powerful, crafty ſeducer: and, what is worſe, ever ready to ſacrifice whoever would diſabuſe and releaſe them. The ſame people who could, without emotion, behold a Sidney bleeding in defence of public liberty, could commit a riot in reſcuing a Sacheverel for preaching ſedition and ſubverting the nation. Your Lordſhip remembers, that Maſſanello, in the ſhort ſpace of ten days, was a poor fiſherman, a popular incendiary, a ſovereign viceroy, ſtripped of his honours, treated like a malefactor knocked on the head, and thrown into a ditch. Who in fine, was more popular than the peſtilent Claudius, except, perhaps, the more peſtilent Cataline? It was, therefore, well obſerved by the protector Cromwell, that the very men, who followed him with acclamations and torrents of flattery, would, with the ſame demonſtrations of joy, accompany him to the gallows.

Thus, my Lord, I have preſented you with a faithful portrait of the Lieutenant-Governor of New-York, who is to bear no ſmall ſhare in the public affairs, of which I have the honour to tranſmit your Lordſhip an account; a portrait, under which there had been no need of fixing a name to direct to the original thoſe, who have the leaſt knowledge of that gentleman's character.

While theſe things were tranſacting at Albany, Mr. Pownal, brother to John Pownal, Eſq. one of the ſecretaries to the Board of Trade, was upon the ſpot. This gentleman came over to America with Sir Danvers Oſborn, in quality of his private ſecretary; though it was imagined by many, he was deſigned to be an aſſiſtant to him in the exerciſe of the government. He is ſomething of a ſcholar, but a confuſed reaſoner; and in his ſtyle perplexed and in that uſefulleſt of all ſciences, the knowledge of man-

kind

kind, he is a mere novitiate: without the latter, your Lordſhip knows that other acquirements are comparatively of ſmall account, in the management of public buſineſs. To be only learned, is frequently to be vain, oſtentatious, and obſtinate; ſuch a one, in a word, as Tertullian deſcribes the moſt learned among the heathens, "an animal of glory." This gentleman is fond of being conſidered *in an important light.* Inſatiable of praiſe, he can not only hear himſelf flattered; but, what is more unaccountable in a man of tolerable ſenſe, can flatter himſelf. He is a perſon of uncommon application, and a good memory. By dint of induſtry, and an acceſs to the papers in the Plantation Board Office, he has acquired ſome knowledge of American affairs; but ſo keen is his appetite for promotion, that he cannot brook the thoughts of a gradual advancement. He is for galloping into preferment; and ſo intent on the contemplation of his future grandeur, as to loſe all patience in earning it. Being more ſkilled in books than men, he is very abrupt in giving a ſcholaſtic turn to converſation, in order to diſplay his erudition. Ever ready to contradict: himſelf impatient of contradiction. But wonderful is his knack at pluming himſelf with the ſchemes and inventions of others; and, with the daw in the fable, ſhining in a borrowed dreſs: a remarkable inſtance of which I ſhall give your Lordſhip in the following anecdote; as characteriſtic of a perſon, who will appear to have had ſome conſiderable influence in the courſe of American tranſactions. During the ſitting of the congreſs, it was ſcarce poſſible to prevent part of their ſentiments from tranſpiring. The ſcheme of a naval armament on Lake Ontario, projected by Lieut. Governor Clarke, before the late war, ſubmitted to the then miniſtry, and now ſtrongly recommended by the commiſſioners of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, by ſome means or other happened to be hinted without doors. Mr. Pownal, intent upon riſing into ſignificance among the colonies, choſe not to ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, as he could now lay hold of, from theſe whiſpered intelligences. He accordingly drew up ſome looſe, indigeſted propoſals, with reſpect to American affairs. Among other trite ſentiments, he urged this ſcheme as a new, unthought-of meaſure, abſolutely

requiſite

requiſite to ſecure the command, and preſerve the full trade of thoſe inland ſeas. This he delivered to ſome of the members of the congreſs to be communicated: and afterwards tranſmitted a copy to England; challenging to himſelf the ſole merit of being the original author of ſo uſeful and neceſſary an expedient.*

While the congreſs was held at Albany, Governor Shirley, ever jealous of French machinations, proceeded, at the head of about one thouſand men, to the river Kennebec and erected forts, at convenient diſtances, to ſtop the progreſs of the French on that quarter; to ſecure the poſſeſſion of that country with the friendſhip of the eaſtern Indians.

The remainder of this year† was principally ſpent in repeated repreſentations to the miniſtry, reſpecting the dangerous ſituation of the Engliſh colonies; and the abſolute neceſſity of a powerful aſſiſtance from Great-Britain, to defeat the ambitious deſigns of the Court of France.

On the welcome intelligence of the ſucceſs of theſe repreſentations, and while forces were expecting from England, the two regiments of Shirley and Pepperel were ordered to be re-eſtabliſhed, and recruits were raiſing through the ſeveral governments, to form an army for diſpoſſeſſing the French from their late encroachments.

The general aſſembly of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay being convened, and the members ſworn to ſecrecy, Mr. Shirley communicated to them a deſign of attacking Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, the enſuing ſpring; and his intention to appoint Col. Johnſon to the command of that expedition. The ſcheme being approved by the council and repreſentatives of that province, and the quotas ſettled, commiſſioners were charged to the neighbouring governments, to ſolicit their concurrence and aid, in the proſecution of this enterpriſe.

While theſe matters were in agitation, Mr. Pownal was at Boſton, intending to ſail from thence to England. He now

* Mr. Pownal had this piece publiſhed in New-York in Feb. 1756. It contained an introduction, declaring, that copies of it were ſent by the miniſtry to the reſpective governors of the colonies: and in the ſpring following, it was republiſhed, with great oſtentation, in the Engliſh magazines. With reſpect to thoſe parts of it, wherein he talks of Indian affairs, the ſentiments ſeem to be unintelligible by a North American underſtanding.

† 1754.

ow thought fit to change his reſolution; and Governor hirley honoured him with the embaſſy to New-York, for hich place he ſet out the beginning of March. Some gen-emen of the council and aſſembly were commiſſioned, on e like errand, to the other colonies of New-Jerſey, Penn-lvania, &c.

Mr. Pownal's proſpects of ſucceſs at New-York were at ſt not very encouraging. De Lancey, jealous of Shirley's ſing reputation, appeared, with regard to the expedition commended, extremely phlegmatic: and though artful ough to abſtain from an open oppoſition, he made uſe of r. Chambers as his tool in council, to obſtruct the con-rrence of the legiſlature. At this time great animoſities ere prevailing in the province, occaſioned by a charter ſt before granted by Mr. De Lancey, conſtituting a col-ge for the education of youth, upon a foundation which ppened to enkindle the general diſguſt. The majority the houſe, apprehending the loſs of their ſeats on a fu-re election, ſhould they afford it the leaſt aſſiſtance, found emſelves obliged rather to countenance the popular re-ntment. A gentleman of diſtinction, with whom Mr. ownal adviſed on the ſubject of his commiſſion, thought a prudent ſtep to open his meſſage in part, to thoſe mem-ers of the aſſembly, who, on the above-mentioned ac-ount, were then in the oppoſition. Several of the leading en were ſecured by this method: and when the houſe et, ſuch a diſpoſition appeared to join in the ſcheme pro-oſed, that it was beyond Mr. De Lancey's power to ob-ruct it. Out of pique however to Mr. Shirley, to whom is expedition was ſolely committed, he prevailed upon em to ſuſpend the execution of their vote, until General addock's approbation was obtained: and by this artifice caſioned a conſiderable delay in the operations.

General Braddock, being now arrived in Virginia, ſent preſſes to the ſeveral governors to meet him, in order to conſultation on the buſineſs of the approaching cam-ign. This convention was opened on the 14th of April,* at

* It was at firſt propoſed to have been held at Annapolis in Maryland. r. Shirley, who thro' the multiplicity of his affairs did not arrive there l April, has been charged with delaying Braddock's march near three

at Alexandria in Virginia. Here it appeared, that through miſrepreſentations from Virginia, the general was enjoined to proceed immediately to Fort Du Queſne. Thoſe, who were well acquainted with the country, could not help obſerving, that a march from Potowmac, acroſs the Alleghany mountains, muſt be attended with incredible difficulty, hazard, and expenſe; that the vicinity of New-York to Canada, its fort of Oſwego on Lake Ontario, together with the advantages of water carriage, rendered that province by far the fitteſt theatre of action. Braddock's orders were nevertheleſs poſitive. For the preſervation therefore of Oſwego, and the reduction of Niagara, it was at length agreed, that Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments ſhould proceed to Lake Ontario, while General Braddock attacked Fort Du Queſne; and the provincial troops, commanded by General Johnſon, marched to inveſt Crown-Point.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, Mr. Shirley began his journey to Boſton, to prepare for the expedition under his immediate command; to forward that under Col. Johnſon; and to quicken the departure of the New-England troops, now aſſembled by his Majeſty's directions, for reducing the French ſettlements in Nova-Scotia. On his way, he ſpent ſome time in conference with Col. Schuyler, a gentleman of fortune and courage, who, out of diſintereſted love to his country, was engaged to head a regiment of 500 men, raiſed and maintained by the province of New-Jerſey. In New-York, he was retarded a few days to conſult with General Johnſon, and remove ſome objections made by Mr. De Lancey to the form of his commiſſion:* and in Connecticut,

weeks; though it is notorious, *that* delay was occaſioned by the failure of the Virginia contract for the neceſſary ſupplies. The general was afterwards obliged to enter into a new one with gentlemen in Pennſylvania; which was not completed till the 27th of May, near ſix weeks from the concluſion of the congreſs.

* Mr. Johnſon had his commiſſion from the governors of the provinces, which furniſhed the troops under his command; the draft of which was ſettled at Alexandria. The Lieut. Governor of New-York now thought proper to repeat thoſe very objections which had been there over-ruled. This unaccountable conduct gave Mr. Johnſon great uneaſineſs, who could not obtain Mr. De Lancey's commiſſion, till proper notice was taken by General Shirley of ſo manifeſt an obſtruction to the operations of the campaign.

necticut, to haſten the aſſembling the troops of that colony.‡

The neceſſary diſpatches being given to the expedition to Nova-Scotia under Col. Winſlow, Mr. Shirley, upon the arrival of the paymaſter for the northern diſtrict, returned to New-York; and on the 4th of July ſailed for Albany, his own regiment having paſſed by for that place, in twenty-one tranſports, a few days before.

About this time, the colonies were filled with univerſal joy, on the agreeable news that the New-England troops were become maſters of Beau-ſejour and Bay Verte, on the iſthmus of Nova-Scotia; whereby a new province was added to the Britiſh empire in America: and that a ſtrong fleet, under Admiral Boſcawen, lay before Louiſburgh, to intercept the French ſupplies; and which had alſo ſeized two of their capital ſhips, the Lys and Alcide, and ſent them into Halifax.

Gen. Braddock was now on his march towards the Ohio, at the head of about 2200 men, in order to inveſt Fort Du Queſne, and drive the French from their encroachments on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennſylvania. From Fort Cumberland to Fort Du Queſne, the diſtance is not leſs than 130 miles. Mr. Braddock began his march from the former on

‡ Connecticut had voted one thouſand men for the Crown-Point expedition, and given aſſurances of 500 more, if the ſervice ſo required. New-York was to ſupply 800; but through the delay occaſioned by the ſuſpending clauſe above mentioned in the vote of our aſſembly, Mr. De Lancey's brother was ſent into Connecticut, to obtain leave for recruiting the quota we were to furniſh, in that colony; as men might there be raiſed more ſpeedily than in the province of New-York. Mr. Shirley being at Hartford, during this application, was told by Governor Fitch, that if Connecticut complied, they ſhould conſider themſelves diſengaged from the aſſurances given of 500 more than their own quota, did the ſervice demand it. This, with Mr. Oliver De Lancey's declaration, that if himſelf ſhould accept the command of the New-York regiment, he could in ten days raiſe the whole number in this province, induced Mr. Shirley to oppoſe the application; it appearing to him not improbable, that the ſervice might afterwards require the reinforcement offered. In conſequence of which, only 300 recruits were furniſhed New-York from thence; a lucky incident for Mr. Shirley's adverſaries to incenſe the people of N. York againſt him; to which purpoſe it was induſtriouſly applied; though his conduct in that affair was prudent and rational; and though, by repeated letters to Lt. Gov. De Lancey, he took pains to remove any miſunderſtanding at a juncture ſo unſeaſonable.

on the 10th of June, leaving the garriſon under the command of Col. Innes. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to ſurmount, in a country rugged, pathleſs, and unknown, acroſs the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods, and dangerous defiles. From the little meadows the army proceeded in two diviſions. At the head of the firſt, conſiſting of 1400 men, was the general himſelf, with the greateſt part of the ammunition and artillery. The ſecond, with the proviſions, ſtores and heavy baggage, was led by Col. Dunbar. Never was man more confident of ſucceſs, than this brave, though unfortunate officer. Being adviſed at the great meadows, that the enemy expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops, he puſhed on, by forced marches, with ſo much diſpatch, that he fatigued the ſoldiers, weakened his horſes, and left his ſecond diviſion near forty miles in the rear. The enemy being not more than 200 ſtrong at their fort on the Ohio, gave no obſtruction to the march of our forces, till the memorable 9th of July; a day never to be forgotten in the annals of North-America. About noon our troops paſſed the Monongahela, and were then within ſeven miles of Fort Du Queſne. Unapprehenſive of the approach of an enemy, at once was the alarm given, by a quick and heavy fire upon the vanguard, under Lieut. Col. Gage. Immediately the main body, in good order and high ſpirits, advanced to ſuſtain them. Orders were then given to halt and form into battalia. At this juncture, the van falling back upon them, in great confuſion, a general panic ſeized the whole body of the ſoldiery; and all attempts to rally them proved utterly ineffectual. The general and all the officers exerted their utmoſt activity, to recover them from the univerſal ſurpriſe and diſorder; but equally deaf were they to intreaties and commands. During this ſcene of confuſion, they expended their ammunition in the wildeſt and moſt unmeaning fire; ſome diſcharging their pieces on our own parties, who were advanced from the main body for the recovery of the cannon. After three hours ſpent in this melancholy ſituation, enduring a terrible ſlaughter, from (it may be ſaid) an *inviſible* foe, orders were given to ſound a retreat, that the men might be brought to cover the waggons. Theſe they ſurrounded

but

but a ſhort ſpace of time; for the enemy's fire being again warmly renewed from the front and left flank, the whole army took to immediate flight; leaving behind them all the artillery, proviſions, ammunition, baggage, military cheſt, together with the general's cabinet, containing his inſtructions and other papers of conſequence. So great was the conſternation of the ſoldiers, that it was impoſſible to ſtop their career, flying with the utmoſt precipitation three miles from the field of action; where only one hundred began to make a more orderly retreat.

What was the ſtrength of the enemy, has hitherto remained to us uncertain. According to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians: and whether any were ſlain, is ſtill to be doubted, for few were ſeen by our men, being covered by ſtumps and fallen trees. Great indeed was the deſtruction on our ſide. Numbers of officers ſacrificed their lives through ſingular bravery. Extremely unfortunate was the whole ſtaff. The general, after having five horſes ſhot under him, received a wound in his lungs through his right arm, of which he died in four days. His Secretary, eldeſt ſon of Major-General Shirley, a gentleman of great accompliſhments, by a ſhot through the head, was killed upon the ſpot. Mr. Orme and Capt. Morris, aids-de-camp, were wounded. Of the 44th regiment, Sir Peter Halket, Colonel, was ſlain, with ſeveral other officers; and Lieut. Col. Gage wounded. Lieut. Col. Burton, of the 48th regiment, was among the wounded; and many gallant officers periſhed in the field. Our whole loſs was about ſeven hundred killed and wounded.

To what cauſes this unhappy cataſtrophe is to be aſcribed, has been matter of much inquiry and animated debate. The officers charged the defeat to the cowardice of the men: but, in a repreſentation they made to Mr. Shirley, by order of the Crown, they in ſome meaſure apologiſe for their behaviour, alleging, that they were haraſſed by duties unequal to their numbers, and diſpirited through want of proviſions: That time was not allowed them to dreſs their food: That their water (the only liquor too they had) was both ſcarce and of a bad quality: In fine, that the provincials had diſheartened them, by repeated ſuggeſtions of their fears of a defeat, ſhould they be attacked by Indians;

dians; in which caſe the European method of fighting would be entirely unavailing. But, my Lord, however cenſurable the conduct of the ſoldiery may be thought, Mr. Braddock, too ſanguine in his proſpects, was generally blamed for neglecting to cultivate the friendſhip of the Indians, who offered their aſſiſtance; and who, it is certain, had a number of them preceded the army, would have ſeaſonably diſcovered the enemy's ambuſcade. The Virginian rangers alſo, inſtead of being made to ſerve as regulars in the ranks with the Engliſh troops, ſhould have been employed as out-ſcouts. But this ſtep, ſo neceſſary to guard againſt ſurpriſe, was too unhappily omitted; the whole army, according to the repreſentation above mentioned, following only *three or four guides*.

When the routed party joined the ſecond diviſion, forty miles ſhort of the place of action, the terror diffuſed itſelf through the whole army. Your Lordſhip might naturally expect to hear, that Col. Dunbar then entrenched himſelf, and called on the neighbouring colonies for immediate reinforcements; as by ſuch a ſtep the enemy might have been detained at Fort Du Queſne, prevented from ravaging the frontiers, or throwing ſuccours into Niagara. But alas! my Lord, an infatuation ſeemed to accompany all our meaſures on the ſouthern quarter. Fearful of an unpurſuing foe, all the ammunition, and ſo much of the proviſions, were deſtroyed, for accelerating their flight, that Dunbar was actually obliged to ſend for thirty horſe loads of the latter, before he reached Fort Cumberland; where he arrived, a very few days after, with the ſhattered remains of the Engliſh troops.

On Mr. Braddock's unhappy cataſtrophe, the command of his Majeſty's forces in North-America devolved upon Major-General Shirley. I before acquainted your Lordſhip of his return to New-York, and departure from thence to Albany, where he arrived the beginning of July.

Albany, my Lord, was the grand theatre of all the preparations for the northern expedition againſt Fort St. Frederick, as well as that to the weſtward, for the reduction of Niagara. The General, on his arrival there, found not the former in the forwardneſs he had reaſon to expect. The provincials, diſcontented with the inactivity of a long encampment,

encampment, Major-General Lyman was obliged to make ſhort marches to prevent their diſbanding; and the General was therefore detained awhile in that city, to hinder ſo fatal an event. His own troops, in the mean time, were filing off, in different diviſions, from Schenectady towards Oſwego.

Oſwego, along the accuſtomed route, is computed to be about three hundred miles weſt from Albany. The firſt ſixteen, to the village of Schenectady, is land carriage, in a good waggon road. From thence to the Little Falls, in the Mohawk River, at ſixty-five miles diſtance, the batteaux* are ſet againſt a rapid ſtream; which too, in dry ſeaſons, is ſo ſhallow, that the men are frequently obliged to turn out, and draw their craft over the rifts with inconceivable labour. At the Little Falls, the portage exceeds not a mile; the ground being marſhy, will admit of no wheel-carriage, and therefore the Germans, who reſide here, tranſport the batteaux in ſleds, which they keep for that purpoſe. The ſame conveyance is uſed at the Great Carrying-Place, ſixty miles beyond the Little Falls; all the way to which the current is ſtill adverſe, and extremely ſwift. The portage here is longer or ſhorter, according to the dryneſs or wetneſs of the ſeaſons. In the moſt ſummer months, when rains are not frequent, it is uſually ſix or eight miles acroſs. Taking water again, we enter a narrow rivulet, called the Wood-creek, which leads into the Oneida Lake, diſtance forty miles. This ſtream, though favourable, being ſhallow, and its banks covered with thick woods, was at this time much obſtructed with old logs and fallen trees. The Oneida Lake ſtretches from eaſt to weſt about thirty miles, and in calm weather is paſſed with great facility. At its weſtern extremity opens the Onondaga River, leading down to Oſwego, ſituated at its entrance, on the ſouth ſide of the Lake Ontario. Extremely difficult and hazardous is the paſſage through this river, as it abounds with rifts and rocks; and the current flowing with ſurpriſing rapidity. The principal obſtruction is twelve miles ſhort of Oſwego, and is a fall of about eleven

* A batteau is a light flat-bottomed boat, wideſt in the middle, and at each end ſharp pointed, of about 1500 weight burthen, and managed by two men, with paddles and ſetting poles.

eleven feet perpendicular. The portage here is by land, not exceeding forty yards, before they launch for the laſt time.

Your Lordſhip, from this account, will readily conceive, that, through ſuch a long, amphibious march, an army muſt proceed with prodigious riſk and fatigue; and the batteaux be neceſſarily conducted by perſons ſkilled in the navigation, and enured to hardſhips. For this ſervice, General Shirley had engaged all the young men in the county of Albany, who formerly had been employed in the Indian trade at Oſwego; and a vaſt number of batteaux were prepared for the conveyance of the troops, ſtores, and proviſions.

Oſwego was formerly garriſoned by twenty-five men; but, on the commencement of our preſent diſputes, the number was augmented to fifty. Early this ſpring, fifty more were ordered up; and about the latter end of May, Capt. Broadſtreet arrived there with two hundred, beſides workmen to be employed in the naval preparations, purſuant to the ſcheme concerted in the congreſs of commiſſioners at Albany the laſt ſummer.

Col. Schuyler's New-Jerſey regiment embarked in two diviſions, from Schenectady, the beginning of July. Shirley's and Pepperell's were preparing to follow, when the melancholy news of Gen. Braddock's defeat reached that place. This ſtruck a general damp on the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, and many deſerted. Great numbers of the batteau-men diſperſed themſelves into the country, and fled to their reſpective habitations. To engage the return of above half the fugitives, equally ineffectual were threats or promiſes, rewards or puniſhments. The General, however, ſenſible of the importance of the ſervice, purſued his march in ſpite of every vexatious diſappointment. As he paſſed their country, he called upon the Indians of the Six Nations at ſome of their caſtles; and ſent embaſſadors to the reſt, preſſing them to join him, with aſſurances of his protection. But they ſeemed in general greatly diſinclined to our weſtern operations. Indian affairs had been too long neglected by the province of New-York, to which the principal management of them has always been committed. Neither the ſums, allotted for preſents to thoſe ſavages,

ſavages, were always, by our governors, fairly expended, nor the preſents themſelves honeſtly diſtributed. And partly through repeated frauds, and the omiſſion of proper meaſures to conciliate their favour, our intereſt with them amounted to little more than a bare neutrality. Mr. Johnſon, nevertheleſs, pretending a mighty influence over them, was entruſted with 5000l. ſterling, in order to engage their aſſiſtance for the general benefit of his Majeſty's ſervice. For this purpoſe he held a congreſs with ſome of their principal ſachems at Mount Johnſon,* ſoon after his return from Alexandria.

Your Lordſhip is pleaſed to inſiſt upon my "*deſcending* "*into a detail of every tranſaction, how minute ſoever, that can* "*give any light into the more ſecret ſprings of our political ac-*"*tion.*" I ſhall therefore acquaint your Lordſhip, that, upon the general's arrival at Albany, Mr. Johnſon laid before him a copy of the minutes of his late treaty with the Indians. Theſe minutes, it ſeems, contained ſome unhandſome reflections upon his excellency; inſinuating, that, to treat ſeparately with them, he had employed one Lydius, a perſon of not the moſt unexceptionable character, either for loyalty or integrity. The ſingle reaſon upon which the ſurmiſe could be founded, was this: Lydius, who formerly lived near Lake George, and whoſe Indian acquaintance was very extenſive, had offered the general his aſſiſtance, in procuring the junction of a number of them, on the deſigned expeditions. Upon which he wrote to Mr. Johnſon, intimating the pleaſure it would give him, if he could make any uſe of this man in his Majeſty's ſervice. On delivering thoſe minutes into the general's hands, Johnſon, ſenſible of the inſinuation, told him, he entirely diſapproved the reflection they ſeemed to contain, and appeared aſhamed of its inſertion. Having peruſed the paper, Shirley could not avoid complaining of the ill uſage; while the other, with ſolemn vows, proteſted he was not privy to it, and importuned him to return the minutes, that he might eraſe the obnoxious paſſage. The former confided in the ſincerity of his proteſtations, but ſoon after had abundant reaſon to diſtruſt his integrity. The

* Sir William Johnſon's own ſeat, near the lower Mohawk caſtle, about 36 miles from Albany.

The general had applied to one Staats, who reſided near Albany, and had a conſiderable intereſt with the Indians of Stockbridge.* He propoſed to him his raiſing a company of them, as a guard to the batteaux in their paſſage to Oſwego. Privately was this man intimidated from the undertaking: and Mr. Johnſon, to induce him to break through his promiſes, offered him a captain's commiſſion, could he engage an Indian company to proceed on the expedition under his own direction.

Your Lordſhip, being already informed of this gentleman's appointment to the command of the provincial army, by the intereſt of General Shirley, will ſcarce have patience at the recital of a conduct ſo aſtoniſhing and ungrateful. The ſecret, my Lord, was this: Mr. Johnſon was never diſtinguiſhed for his ſenſe or penetration. He had now for his aid-de-camp, Capt. Wraxal, a man of art and genius, who a few years before had been appointed ſecretary for Indian affairs, and clerk of the city and county of Albany. Governor Clinton had granted a commiſſion for the latter of thoſe offices, before the date of Wraxal's patent or manual. A ſuit was therefore commenced, and is ſtill depending between him and the perſon in poſſeſſion of the office, ſuſpended on the determination of a point of law. Upon this account, Wraxal became a humble dependant on Lieut. Governor De Lancey, before whom, unleſs ſuperſeded in the chief command, the caſe muſt be determined upon a writ of error: The latter, who had been a declared enemy to Johnſon, throughout the whole of Clinton's adminiſtration, and had even prevented the aſſembly from diſcharging a very equitable demand he had againſt the province for ſervices and diſburſements, now determined to fall in with, and ſet him up, in competition with Shirley. Wraxal's poſt and dependance afforded a fine opportunity for the purpoſe: and ſo Johnſon became ſtrongly attached to the Lieut. Governor. Your Lordſhip will no longer wonder at his procuring all the Indians he could prevail upon, to join the provincial troops under his own command; or at his attempts to excite others to embarraſs and obſtruct the general's deſigns upon the Lake Ontario. He ſuppor

* Stockbridge, by the Indians called Houſatonic, lies upon the weſtern confines of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay.

ſupport of a charge ſo heavy as this, I think it incumbent upon me to aſſign the following inſtances: 1. Not an Indian joined General Shirley at Schenectady, agreeably to Mr. Johnſon's poſitive aſſurances. 2. Nor at either of the caſtles in the five cantons, as he paſſed through them to Oſwego: but, on the contrary, 3, One Brant, an Onondaga, (three of whoſe ſons were in Johnſon's army) at the head of ſeveral other Indians, declared to Mr. Shirley, at Oſwego, that it was a place of trade and peace; that there ſhould be no war there; and that he ſhould not diſturb the French; adding, that he was going with the like meſſage to Canada. The general having convinced him, that the expulſion of the French from their encroachments muſt redound to the advantage of the Six Nations, he aſſerted, that Mr. Johnſon had ſent them upon this embaſſy to Canada. Though this appeared utterly incredible, it is nevertheleſs certain. 4. Several other Indians arrived from the Onondaga caſtle, with a belt, declaring it to have been ſent them by Mr. Johnſon, with his requeſt, that not a man of them would join the King's troops, under the command of General Shirley. 5. Others alſo, from the Seneca, Oneida, and Cayuga cantons, concurred in the like reports; particularly one Redhead, an Indian of great fame, and a ſpeaker at the late congreſs at Mount-Johnſon, came to Oſwego, in his way to Oſwagatie or la Gallette, and deſired the ceſſation of all military deſigns; affirming, that with the ſame requeſt he was going to the French.

It was with difficulty, my Lord, theſe Indians were reconciled to our attempts, detained at Oſwego, and thereby prevented from communicating our operations to the enemy. The general, from theſe inſtances, became more and more ſuſpicious, that the faction at New-York were endeavouring to embarraſs and impede his meaſures. What farther confirmed his ſuſpicions, that the Lieut. Governor of New-York, with that view, made Mr. Johnſon his inſtrument, was a letter, which, after his arrival at Oſwego, he received from the latter, wherein he juſtified that very aſperſion, before diſavowed, contained in the minutes above recounted.

My Lord, we will now leave Mr. Shirley at Oſwego; and purſue the courſe of tranſactions, as well at New-York, as in the ſouthern colonies. Dunbar,

Dunbar, having reached Fort Cumberland, diſpatched an Indian expreſs to General Shirley, with an account of the defeat, and the neceſſary returns reſpecting the troops under his command; acquainting him, moreover, with his intention of marching to Philadelphia, and his hopes of meeting his orders at Shippenſburgh. About the ſame time, Mr. Dinwiddie wrote to Dunbar, propoſing a ſecond attempt on Fort Du Queſne. But a council being thereupon held, the members of which were Col. Dunbar, Lieut. Col. Gage, Governor Sharpe, Major Chapman, Major Sparke, and Sir John St. Clair, it was unanimouſly conceived, that Mr. Dinwiddie's ſcheme was impracticable. The very next day, being the ſecond of Auguſt, Dunbar began his march towards Philadelphia, with 1600 men, 4 ſix pounders, and as many cohorns; leaving behind him the Virginia and Maryland companies, and about 400 wounded. At this ſudden departure of the forces, the Virginians were extremely diſobliged, as not only expoſing their frontiers, and occaſioning the daily deſertion of their provincials; but becauſe the enemy, in flying parties, penetrated into the province, and on many of the inhabitants committed robberies and murder. What judgment ought to be formed of this retreat, I leave your Lordſhip to determine. Certainly thoſe ſouthern colonies ought to have ſtrengthened General Braddock with a large body of provincial forces, which had doubtleſs prevented all this effuſion of blood and treaſure, the fatal conſequence of their ill-judged parſimony. Upon the advices received from Dunbar, Mr. Shirley gave orders for renewing the attempt, if the ſouthern colonies would readily afford him a competent reinforcement.

Governor Morris having convened the Pennſylvania aſſembly, informed them of the retreat of our army, and in a well-drawn, pathetic ſpeech, preſſed them to the moſt vigorous meaſures for the defence of their borders. They proceeded ſo far as to vote for raiſing 50,000l.; but offering a bill for taxing the proprietary-eſtate, an immediate rupture enſued, of which your Lordſhip is long ſince acquainted, by the ample accounts in ſundry late pamphlets on that and ſimilar ſubjects. As to Virginia, now equally open to the irruptions of the enemy, four companies of

rangers

angers were ordered out, and the aſſembly voted 40,000l. or furniſhing a thouſand men for the frontier defence. About the ſame time, met the council and aſſembly of New-Jerſey, and the latter voted 30,000l. for the public ervice: but as the houſe propoſed to prolong the curren-y of the bills for nine years, to which Mr. Belcher, who ever ſwerves from his inſtructions, not being able to aſ-ent, 15,000l. only was raiſed, and its uſe reſtricted to keep-ing on foot her regiment at Oſwego, commanded by Col. Schuyler. At New-York, the houſe of repreſentatives aſ-embled on the 5th of Auguſt, and ſet out with a generous pirit. Agreeable to the requeſt of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay overnment, always foremoſt in military affairs, they re-olved to reinforce the provincial army, deſtined for rown-Point, with 400 men. The bill was actually paſſed e houſe for that purpoſe; and the council had determin-l to conceal from their knowledge, the contents of a ſe-nd letter from Gen. Shirley to Col. Dunbar, of the 7th Auguſt, in which he ordered him to proceed with his oops to Albany, for the protection of that important ſt, in caſe the colony forces ſhould meet with a repulſe. y this bill, the aſſembly propoſed to inveſt the reſpective ptains of the city militia with an arbitrary power to aught men for the ſervice. The deſign of this extraor-inary project was ſuſpected to ſerve a particular purpoſe, a new election of repreſentatives, which, according to ſtom, it was thought would immediately enſue the arri-al of Sir Charles Hardy, who was ſoon expected with a ommiſſion for the chief command of this province. It ertainly was a favourite bill; for, contrary to precedent, he lieut. governor came to the council board,* and preſſed hem to paſs it: but when he perceived an amendment reparing for a ballot of the recruits in New-York, as well s in the other counties, he immediately laid the general's letter to Dunbar before the houſe; in conſequence of which, the deſign of a reinforcement inſtantly dropped, nd the aſſembly adjourned the next day.

After

* Before the adminiſtration of Governor Coſby, it was cuſtomary for the governors to be preſent in the council, even when ſitting in their legiſlative capacity. But ſince that period, they have not openly interpoſed in the conſultations of that branch of the legiſlature.

After what I have already recounted, your Lordſhip will not, I preſume, be at all ſurpriſed to find Mr. De Lancey leaving no device untried to maintain the ſole direction of the aſſembly. He knew that on his intereſt with the repreſentatives depended his credit with the miniſtry; and that with the expiration of his power, to carry certain points of prerogative, would alſo expire their opinion of his importance. His agents in England, to ſupport their patron, had hitherto amuſed a certain noble Lord with many ſpecious promiſes. They had repreſented his capacity, to ſerve the Crown, in very magnificent terms; nor forgot his readineſs to procure, whenever an opportunity preſented, the obedience of the houſe to ſome favourite inſtructions. Hence it is evident, that the loſs of his aſcendancy, over that branch of the legiſlature, muſt naturally terminate in the extinction of his grandeur derived from the Crown.

While he held the reins of government, aſſumed on Sir Danvers Oſborn's deceaſe, the miniſtry had none to inſpect his conduct, or trace him through the mazy labyrinth of his politics. From himſelf came all their intelligence, and hence undoubtedly none in his own diſfavour. During theſe golden days of ſecurity and repoſe, he reſigned himſelf to pleaſure, and indulged his natural diſpoſition to voluptuouſneſs and eaſe. The province, the mean while, was principally governed by his ſecretary; who, like a ſecond Atlas, bore the chief burden of the ſtate. Thus negligent of his politics, his popularity began to ſuffer a manifeſt declenſion. It was, moreover, notably abridged by his paſſing the charter before-mentioned, repugnant, by his own confeſſion, to the dictates of his judgment. By this ſtep he incurred ſuch general umbrage, that the very members of the aſſembly could not be wrought upon to confirm it. Nay, ſo diſguſtful to the people was this charter, that a majority of the moſt reputable inhabitants united againſt it in a petition to the houſe. Civil liberty, and, by ſome, even the rights of conſcience were imagined to be in danger; and the oppoſition being, as it were, *pro aris & focis*, was extremely animated. The Lieutenant-Governor became now apprehenſive of the conſequence. He ſtood upon the point of reſigning his command to ſucceſſo

ſucceſſor hourly expected; and, without regaining his ſeat as chief juſtice, his popularity appeared deſcending from its meridian; nor, in caſe of a diſſolution, was he inſenſible his authority with the houſe muſt ſuffer a total eclipſe. Your Lordſhip cannot therefore but obſerve, of what moment it was to ſecure the friendſhip of the next governor. Permit me to mention the arts, whereby it was accompliſhed.

Sir Charles Hardy arrived in our harbour on the 2d of September, 1755. The council immediately convened themſelves for his reception. In the midſt of their conſultations, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, without leave of the board, bolts into the chamber, and modeſtly interpoſes his advice, to ſend a meſſage to Sir Charles, requeſting his continuance in the ſhip till the next morning. The reaſon aſſigned was, to gain time for drawing out the militia, to receive his Excellency, at landing, with the formality and honour due to his rank. But the true ſecret was, to gain an opportunity for the Lieutenant-Governor, and a ſelect junto, to paſs the evening with him, in order to conciliate his graces, and give him early impreſſions in favour of their party. The next day, the Governor publiſhed his commiſſion; and was, by Mr. De Lancey, invited to a public entertainment. In the evening, they conducted him to the common, to hear the acclamations of the people; and, on every occaſion, followed him with ſervile court and adulation. To impreſs a high ſenſe of his predeceſſor's popularity, they ſpared no pains. For this purpoſe alſo they intrigued with the aſſembly, and city corporation, two elective bodies, and thence under his influence. Of the latter, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, as alderman, was a member; and, with true fraternal affection, ſtimulated the board to inſert in their addreſs a compliment to his brother. A modeſt motion, my Lord! and ſo vehemently urged, that it was carried, though not without ſome oppoſition. The burden of that momentous paſſage, without which the whole had been jejeune and inſipid, was diſcharged in theſe terms: "*We have the greateſt reaſon to expect the continuation of that wiſe and happy adminiſtration, we have been bleſt with ſome time paſt.*" Still greater was Mr. De Lancey's intereſt in the aſſembly, as I

have

have already had the honour to acquaint your Lordſhip. But one gentleman in that houſe oppoſed the flattery of their addreſs. He is a man of an affluent, independent fortune; a bold, unſhackled ſpirit, and of ſtrong natural parts. The addreſs was calculated to ſecure De Lancey's power both with governor and people: the former, by diſplaying to Sir Charles his formidable intereſt in that houſe: the latter, by preventing a diſſolution; than which nothing was the object of greater dread. "*It has,* "*Sir,* (theſe are the expreſſions) *been uſual in this colony, at* "*the acceſſion of a new governor, to give the people an opportu-* "*nity of a new election of repreſentatives. If your Excellency* "*conceives, that ſuch a meaſure, in the preſent ſtate of affairs* "*will be conſiſtent with his Majeſty's ſervice, and the ſecurity* "*of this his loyal colony, it will be agreeable to us, and to the* "*people we have the honour to repreſent.*

"*The importance of the buſineſs under our conſideration, and* "*the diſpatch neceſſary to accompliſh it, will plead our excuſe* "*your Excellency for not being earlier in this addreſs.*

"*And here, Sir, we ſhould have ended, were we not in juſ-* "*tice bound to pay ſome acknowledgment to the adminiſtration* "*of your Excellency's predeceſſor, the Lieutenant-Governor* "*whoſe upright intentions, as far as we had opportunities of diſ-* "*covering them, ever tended to his Majeſty's honour and ſer-* "*vice, and the welfare and proſperity of this colony.*"

Mr. De Lancey is one of the moſt fortunate of men. While the people impatiently expected a diſſolution, an expreſs arrived, on the 12th of September, with a confuſed, but alarming account of an action at Lake George. This rendered it neceſſary for Sir Charles Hardy immediately to proceed to Albany. Thither the Lieut. Governor accompanied him, and had thereby a fair opportunity to engroſs and cajole him. I ſhall ſuſpend the relation of his ſucceſs, till I have laid before your Lordſhip the progreſs of the provincial army, and their repulſe of the French.

Major-General Lyman, being advanced with the troops to the Carrying-Place, about ſixty miles from Albany, was waiting the arrival of General Johnſon, who ſet out from thence on the 8th of Auguſt, with the train of artillery. Lyman had begun a fort at the landing, on the eaſt ſide of Hudſon's River, now called Fort Edward. About the lat-

ter

ter end of the month, General Johnſon, with the main body, moved forward fourteen miles more northerly, and pitched his camp at the ſouth end of Lake George, before called St. Sacrament. By ſome Indians, who had been ſent out as ſcouts, he received the following advices: That they had diſcovered a party of French and Indians at Ticonderoga, ſituate on the iſthmus between the north end of Lake George and the ſouthern part of Lake Champlain, fifteen miles on this ſide Crown-Point; but that no works were there thrown up. To have ſecured this paſs, which commanded the route to Crown-Point through the Lake, had been a meaſure extremely adviſable. Mr. Johnſon, informed of its importance, on the 1ſt of September, wrote to General Shirley, that he was impatient to get up his batteaux; propoſing then to proceed with part of the troops, and ſeize upon that paſs. The French, however, took advantage of the delay, and cut out work enough for him at his own camp.

Of the troops which ſailed from Breſt in the ſpring, amounting to about 3000, your Lordſhip knows, eight companies were taken with the Lys and Alcide men of war, who fell in with our fleet commanded by Admiral Boſcawen. One thouſand were landed at Louiſburgh, and the reſidue arrived at Quebec, with Monſ. de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, and Baron Dieſkau, commander of the forces. The French court, well apriſed of the ſingular conſequence of Oſwego, had determined to reduce it. Such being the Baron's inſtructions, he immediately proceeded to Montreal; from whence he detached 700 of his troops up the river, intending himſelf ſpeedily to join them with the remainder. Juſt before he had made the neceſſary preparations, Montreal was alarmed with the news of our forming a numerous army near Lake St. Sacrament, for the reduction of Fort Frederick, and perhaps to penetrate into the heart of Canada. Whereupon a grand council being held, the Baron was importuned to proceed through Lake Champlain, for the defence of that fortreſs; nor was he, without great difficulty prevailed upon to alter his intended route.

Dieſkau, having in vain waited the coming up of our army, at length reſolved himſelf to advance towards them;

and, if he proved victorious, to deſolate our northern ſettlement, lay the towns of Albany and Schenectady in aſhes, and cut off all communication with Oſwego. A dreadful reſolution, my Lord! And had he ſucceeded—I tremble at the thought—had he ſucceeded—but the Supreme Diſpoſer of events had not yet devoted us to ruin; and therefore, like the counſels of Achitophel, blaſted the ſanguinary purpoſe.

For the execution of this deſign, he embarked at Fort St. Frederick with 2000 men in batteaux, and landed at the South Bay.* Of this movement, Gen. Johnſon had not the leaſt intimation, till his ſcouts diſcovered their actual departure from the South Bay towards Fort Edward. By an Engliſh priſoner the baron was told that the Fort was defenceleſs, and our camp at the Lake, when he left it a few days before, without lines, and deſtitute of cannon. Having approached within two miles of Fort Edward, he opened his deſign to his troops, conſiſting of 600 militia, as many Indians, and 200 regulars. To animate his irregulars, who ſeemed diſinclined to the attack propoſed, he aſſured them, that inevitable muſt be their ſucceſs; "that "on reducing this fort, the Engliſh camp muſt neceſſarily "be abandoned, and their army diſperſe in great diſorder; "that this would enable them to ſubdue Albany; and by "ſtarving the garriſon of Oſwego, ſuperadd to their con"queſt the abſolute dominion of Ontario." With whatever intrepidity this harangue inſpired his European troops, the Canadians and ſavages, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averſe to the ſcheme; but declared their willingneſs to ſurpriſe our camp, where they expected nothing beyond muſquetry.† Thus diſappointed in his principal deſign, he changed his route, and began to move againſt the main body at the Lake. Gen. Johnſon, on the information of his ſcouts, had diſpatched ſeparate meſſengers to Fort Edward, with advice of the enemy's approach towards that garriſon; of which one was unfortunately intercepted; the reſt, who got back, reported, that they had deſcried the enemy about four miles to the northward of the fort. Inſtead of any attempt

* About 16 miles from the Engliſh encampment.

† Our artillery was got up to the camp from Fort Edward, but a day or two before the action, of which the French had no intelligence.

tempt to diſcover the ſtrength of the guard left with their batteaux at the South Bay, which might eaſily have been cut off, a council of war reſolved the next morning to detach 1000 men, with ſome Indians, to fall upon, or, as Mr. Johnſon expreſſes it in his letter to the ſeveral governors, "to *catch* the enemy in their retreat." On this ſervice commanded Col. Williams, a brave officer, who met the baron within four miles of our camp.

The Engliſh, my Lord, were encamped on the banks of Lake George, being covered on either ſide by a low, thick-wooded ſwamp. After the march of the detachment, Gen. Johnſon drew up the cannon, then at 500 yards diſtance from the front. Trees were alſo felled, to form ſome ſort of breaſtwork: and this was all his cover againſt an attack, having hitherto ſtrangely delayed the proper retrenchments.

About an hour after Williams's departure, a heavy fire was heard; which evidently approaching, Gen. Johnſon judged rightly, that our detachment was retreating; for the French were ſuperior in number, amounting to about 1800. Upon this he ſent out a reinforcement to ſupport them; which was very judiciouſly conducted, on the death of Williams, by Lieutenant Colonel Whiting, a Connecticut officer, who gained much applauſe at the reduction of Louiſburgh. Gen. Johnſon informs the governors, "*That "about half an hour after eleven, the enemy appeared in ſight, and "marched along the road in very regular order, directly upon our "center: That they made a ſmall halt, about* 150 *yards from the "breaſt-work, when the regular troops made the grand and center "attack; while the Canadians and Indians ſquatted and diſperſ-"ed on our flanks.*" This halt was the Baron's capital error; for, amidſt the conſternation of the camp, had he cloſely followed up the detachment, he had eaſily forced their lines, and gained a complete victory. But by continuing for ſome time a platoon fire, with little execution at that diſtance, our men recovered their ſpirits. As ſoon as the artillery began to play, Dieſkau and his regulars found themſelves totally deſerted by the militia and ſavages, who all ſkulked into the ſwamps, took to trees, and maintained a ſcattered fire upon our flanks, for ſome time, with variable and intermitting briſkneſs. Having now no command of any part of his army, except his handful of regulars,

regulars, the Baron thought proper to retire; which he did in very great diſorder. A party from the camp followed him, fell upon his rear, diſperſed the remaining ſoldiers about him, and being himſelf wounded in the leg, was found reſting on a ſtump, utterly abandoned and deſtitute of ſuccour. Feeling for his watch, to ſurrender it, one of our men, ſuſpecting him in ſearch of a piſtol, poured a charge through his hips; of which wound he is not yet recovered. Upon his retreat, the militia and Indians retired in ſmall parties: and as the Engliſh neglected to continue the purſuit, they halted about four miles from the camp, at the very place where the engagement happened in the morning. Opening their packs for refreſhment, they here entered into conſultation, reſpecting a ſecond attack. Why the enemy was not purſued, when their retreat became general, no tolerable reaſon has ever yet been aſſigned; and Mr. Johnſon, in his letter, ſeems very artfully to evade it. Nothing, however, could be more fortunate than the gallant behaviour of a party, conſiſting of about 200, led by Capt. M'Ginnes, who had been detached from Fort Edward, to the aſſiſtance of the main body. They fell upon the French in the evening, put an end to their conſultations, and gave them a total overthrow. M'Ginnes died of the wounds he received in this rencounter, having ſignalized himſelf by a ſpirit and conduct that would have done honour to a more experienced officer.

Mr. Wraxall, in his letter to the Lieut. Governor of New-York, told him, he ſtood ſo near Gen. Johnſon, when the latter received his wound, that "he thought he ſaw the ball enter:" which curious piece of intelligence was obliterated before its publication. I only mention this circumſtance to convince your Lordſhip, that the moſt intrepid ſoldier hath not always the ſame preſence of mind.

If the duſk of the evening was too far advanced, before the repulſe at the Lake, for an immediate purſuit, (which by the way could not be the caſe, ſince M'Ginnes's encounter was ſubſequent) yet the neglect of it the next day admits of no colourable apology. Mr. Lyman urged it with great warmth; but the General, with moſt of the field officers, are accuſed of an equal diſinclination. Mr. Johnſon, to judge by his letter, ſeemed well ſatisfied with his eſcape;

and

and determined with this action to close the present campaign. It was probably to avoid the prosecution of the expedition, that he transmitted no account of the battle to General Shirley; contenting himself with requesting Lieut. Governor Phipps to send a copy of his letter from Boston, though his own situation was 200 miles nearer to Oswego. The gentleman at Albany, to whom his dispatches were entrusted, suspecting their contents, and conceiving their communication to the General absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, broke open the letter to Governor Phipps, and sent an express with a copy to Oswego.

The Indians, during the whole of the engagement, some of the Mohawks only excepted, retired from the camp, waiting the event of the conflict at a convenient distance. Nor indeed was their assistance expected, by those who knew their boasted fidelity was a mere delusion, and Mr. Johnson's so much magnified influence, what it has since appeared to all men, the grossest imposture. They even declared before their march, they intended not to engage, but to be witnesses of the gallantry of our troops. And had Dieskau won the day, equally ready had they been to scalp their brethren the English, as now they appeared to exercise their brutal dexterity on the French. Moreover, they came in a body to Albany, immediately after the battle, on pretence of celebrating the success of our arms, and to condole with the widows of those who fell in the action. This, says one of Mr. Johnson's encomiasts, is their custom; subjoining prophetically, that they were in a fortnight after their departure to return to the camp. The savages, my Lord, observe no such custom, save on the conclusion of an enterprise; whereas this was scarcely commenced: and as to their return, it is notorious they never did. Besides, had the General the real interest pretended, would he not, for once, have induced them to postpone their triumphant festivity, and untimely condolence, when their presence at the camp, would they really fight, was of indispensible necessity; and himself in expectation of a second attack; nor, by the strain of his letter, exempt from a little perturbation of mind?

To render the lustre of this gentleman's character still more refulgent, by preventing any one's sharing with him the

the glory of the day, a junto combined at the camp, and framed a letter*, impeaching Mr. Lyman, the ſecond in command, of daſtardly carriage, which they procured one Cole, a fellow of no reputation, to ſign, and convey to the preſs. A notable inſtance of the amazing latitude to which an invidious ſpirit is capable of proceeding: ſo true is the poet's obſervation,

———Men that make
Envy and crooked malice nouriſhment,
Dare bite the beſt.—— *Shakeſp.*

For, in reality, no man, my Lord, behaved with more magnanimity, than the unfortunate object of their jealouſy: and from his ſuperior merit actually aroſe their malignity, as he thence rivalled their deified idol. The reaſon why this much injured officer deferred his vindication, was not only the diſgraceful name of his calumniator, but becauſe he expected that juſtice from the public; who, accordingly, in teſtimony of his merit, veſted him, the next campaign, with the ſame important poſt. But numbers of witneſſes, eye witneſſes, utterly impartial, and not belonging to the camp, are ready to depoſe, that by them he was ſeen fighting like a lion, and expoſing his life in the hotteſt of the battle; not to mention a gentleman† of undoubted veracity, to whom Gen. Johnſon, two days after the action, frankly acknowledged, in his tent, that to Lyman was chiefly to be aſcribed the honour of the victory.

I ſhall now, my Lord, take the liberty to make a few remarks on Mr. Johnſon's letter to the governors; and examine the reaſons aſſigned againſt purſuing his advantage, as well as thoſe alleged for not proſecuting the expedition. The repulſe of the French delivered us from ſuch unſpeakable calamity, naturally to be apprehended from the enemy's ſucceſs, that we have infinite reaſon to thank the GOD OF ARMIES, for thus remarkably reſcuing us from the jaws of perdition. Nor ought we to mention either our officers or men, who generally behaved as well as could be expected, without a ſuitable tribute of gratitude. But the

* ——Minds that will mount into ſuperior ſtate,
Climb miſchief's ladder.—— *Richards's Meſſalina.*

† Col. John Renſſelaer, of Albany.

the General's own letter will enable me to convince your Lordſhip, that the magnificent trophies, erected to his fame, ſprung wholly from the New-York cabal; whoſe ſervices, when encircled with his laurels, he was ever after to acknowledge and retaliate

—ſana redemitus tempora lauro
—veterem Anchiſem agnoſcit amicum.

By this letter he appears ſo conſcious of deſerving reprehenſion, rather than applauſe, that the latter part of his epiſtle is apparently calculated to divert all inquiry into the true reaſon of his not purſuing the enemy, and breaking up the campaign, without paying a viſit to Crown-Point. "*Our men* (ſays he) *have ſuffered ſo much fatigue* "*for three days paſt, and are conſtantly ſtanding upon their* "*arms by day, half the whole upon guard by night, and the reſt* "*lie down armed and accoutred, that both officers and men are* "*almoſt worn out.*" I cannot help thinking, that had the General begun his breaſt-work more ſeaſonably, and not waited for intelligence of the enemy's advancing, before he ordered up his cannon, his men had been leſs fatigued by this redoubtable action. But leſt the world ſhould remain in the dark about the real grounds of his apprehenſion, he proceeds: "*The enemy may rally; and we judge* "*they have conſiderable reinforcements near at hand.*" I queſtion, my Lord, whether the whole circle of hiſtory affords a ſingle inſtance of an army's rallying, after the ſlaughter of 1000 men (his own computation) out of about 1800, the whole force of the enemy. And whence he conjectured they had any reinforcements ſo near at hand, as not to be able to join their routed detachment, ſtill remains one of thoſe arcana of ſtate, which, by common underſtandings, is not to be fathomed: or, if the French conſiſted of 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians, (the Baron's account to the General) ſo great a ſlaughter, as is pretended by the letter, with the loſs of the greateſt part of the principal officers, and Monſ. St. Pierre, who had the chief command and influence over the Indians, muſt have reduced them to leſs than 800. From theſe, one would have imagined, there was no danger of a ſecond attack. Far more probable was it, that for ſo momentous an enterpriſe,

terpriſe, as the reduction of the forts before-mentioned, the French had muſtered all the forces they could ſpare from Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, where many of the regular troops were poſted; eſpecially, as they went unfurniſhed with cannon. Add to this, that our army was now fluſhed with victory; the enemy, on the contrary, diſconcerted; and, according to his account, moſt of their principal officers, and many of their men, ſlain; the Indians too, by the death of St. Pierre, probably were vering and diſſipated. This, if ſuch were the facts, was a glorious opportunity to diſpoſſeſs them of Ticonderoga. But the longer they were ſuffered to fortify, the more arduous the taſk to diſlodge them, and the greater the loſs of our preſent advantage, reſulting from their defeat and our ſucceſs. Beſides, was there any probability of their return the next day, to re-aſſault the camp with muſquetry; when the effects of our cannon (admitting them to have done the pretended execution*) were ſtill ſo recent in their memories; and to the Indians, even the firſt time ſo viſibly tremendous? But the cautious general ſubjoins: "*We do not think it either prudent or ſafe to be ſending out* "*parties in ſearch of the dead.*" I agree, it had been more for his Majeſty's ſervice to have diſpatched them in purſuit of the *living*. After a ſhort paragraph concerning the wounded, his panic returns: "*I think we may expect, very* "*ſhortly, a more formidable attack.*" More formidable than what? Why, than that of their regulars firing at a diſtance, and the Canadians and Indians running away: "*and that the enemy will then come with artillery.*" I wonder whether this gentleman expected to reduce Crown-Point without being expoſed to the French artillery? But whence this ſurmiſe of a more formidable attack, he thinks not proper to communicate. It was well known, the whole force ſent from France amounted to about 3000: that of theſe, Admiral Boſcawen took eight companies, and 1000 were in garriſon at Louiſburgh. Admitting, therefore, that all the reſt arrived at Quebec, without any loſs, (a favourable

* The cannon were ſo ill ſerved, and highly elevated, that they did, beyond all controverſy, no execution at all; none of the dead being obſerved to have been killed by cannon ſhot: but amongſt the tops of the trees, thirty and forty feet high, they made great and uſeleſs havock.

(a favourable conceſſion) the utmoſt amount that reached Canada was about 1700; of which 500 were at Cadaraqui; ſo that, without any allowance for thoſe killed at the camp, or in the mock purſuit which enſued, the whole number of regulars that arrived with Dieſkau, and could come againſt him, but little exceeded 1100. The gentleman proceeds: "*The late Col. Williams had the ground cleared for* "*building a ſtockaded fort: our men are ſo haraſſed, and obliged* "*to be upon watchful duty, that I think it would be both unſea-* "*ſonable, and I fear in vain, to ſet them at work upon the de-* "*ſigned fort. I deſign to order the New-Hampſhire regiment up* "*here, to reinforce us; and I hope ſome of the deſigned rein-* "*forcements will be with us in a few days. When theſe freſh* "*troops arrive, I ſhall*"—I dare ſay your Lordſhip expects at leaſt the demolition of Fort St. Frederick: nothing like it—"*I ſhall immediately ſet about building a fort.*" Still the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of terror and alarm: for, it is evident from this paſſage, he had now laid aſide all thoughts of proſecuting the expedition, ſhould even ſuccours arrive, and in greater numbers than were neceſſary. All his puiſſant purpoſes terminated now "*in ſetting about building a fort.*" And if indeed he thought Crown-Point impregnable by the army then under his command, above 4,000 ſtrong, he muſt neceſſarily conclude it would be found ſo the next year, by double the number: and if then attempted through another route, his grand fortreſs at the end of the Lake was abſolutely uſeleſs. Nor would it prove any defence to the country between Lake George and Hudſon's River, while the French could penetrate it by two other more uſual paſſages, the South-Bay and Wood-Creek; through the former of which they had actually marched to his camp. And as to their formidable attack with artillery, whence could they bring it, but from Crown-Point? And if they learnt, he intended, in the preſent campaign, nothing beyond building a ſtockaded fort, that very intelligence was ſufficient to induce them to attack the camp with cannon; againſt which, I am confident, his fort would make but a very indifferent reſiſtance. But, in reality, it was moſt probable they would exert their efforts in ſtrengthening Crown-Point and Ticonderoga;

the reduction of which, for not improving our ſucceſs at the camp, will coſt us a vaſt addition of blood and treaſure.

Thus, my Lord, ended this expenſive expedition in erecting a wooden fort; faulted by Mr. Montreſor* ; and, I dare ſay, derided by the enemy. So that if ever any man obtained laurels without earning them, it was this fortunate general; who, by the ſplendid repreſentations of his ſecretary, and the ſovereign decree of his patron, is exalted into an eminent hero. To the panegyrical pen of Mr. Wraxal, and the—ſic volo ſic jubeo—of Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, is to be aſcribed that mighty renown, which echoed through the colonies, reverberated to Europe, and elevated a raw, inexperienced youth into a kind of ſecond Marlborough.

Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

So capricious is fortune, and ſo fond of ſporting with human affairs. The emperor Severus, (I think it is Herodian tells the ſtory) when obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Atras, the only attempt in which he had ever been baffled, thought himſelf conquered becauſe he did not conquer: but our hero, it ſeems, is a conqueror becauſe he was not conquered. When a general finds himſelf attacked in his camp, a very quaker, methinks, would forget his principles, and follow, in ſpite of Barclay and the meeting, the powerful dictates of nature's incentive to ſelf-defence. And did the valour of our warrior carry him an inch farther? Did he purſue an enemy, who, by flying, with the loſs of about thirty men, exhibited a full proof of a moſt extraordinary puſillanimity? Or, if his wound (which, conſidering it was made by a ball viſible in its flight to his aid-de-camp, muſt have been very capacious) rendered his perſonal purſuit impracticable, were any orders given to improve the fortune of the day, and deſtroy a fugitive army? Was not, on the contrary, the noble ardor of thoſe who offered to purſue, by poſitive orders, repreſſed; and a poltron adverſary ſuffered to eſcape, whoſe recent cowardice promiſed a general ſlaughter, and who, in their preſent panic, had fallen a ſacrifice to our victorious arms?

Theſe are facts of inconteſtible notoriety: and if your Lordſhip

* Chief Engineer.

rdſhip demands, whence then the accounts that ſix or
ght hundred, nay a thouſand, fell before the camp,
hen, in reality, the enemy loſt not above two hundred
all the three engagements, which is leſs than our own
s) there is no other way of accounting for theſe glaring
repreſentations, than that it ſuited our preſent ſyſtem of
litics to have this action exaggerated and magnified. It
s neceſſary to exalt Johnſon, in order to depreſs Shir-
; and they, who had repreſented the expedition againſt
own-Point of ſuch prodigious importance, thought it ad-
eable to render every thing important that was tranſact-
in that expedition. Every man among us knew it to
an impoſition; and yet ran the riſk of having his head
oke for offering to doubt it. It was notorious, not
ove thirty of the enemy were found ſlain at the camp;
d that the reſt of the dead could neither fly into the air,
dive into the earth. Where then was the remainder?
anticipate the queſtion, leſt any one ſhould have effron-
y enough to ſtart it, they were carried off by a flying
my, who took to their heels to ſave their own lives;
l yet were ſo anxious about their dead, as to carry them
along. Such manifeſt contradictions are we obliged to
ieve!

Nay, to excuſe this favourite General, the blame of not
owing his advantage, has been thrown on Mr. Shirley,
l attributed to his poſitive directions. Beſides the ab-
dity of the accuſation, that he could be acceſſory to an
iffion of this nature, it was abſolutely impoſſible for him
know whether the enemy would at all riſk an attack.
ur Lordſhip will conſider, the General was then at leaſt
5 miles from the place of action, nor adviſed of it till
e days after it happened. But when he received the
telligence, ſo far from directing to the inactivity of a
erely defenſive conduct, that he diſpatched repeated ex-
eſſes to Mr. Johnſon, urging him, in the moſt preſſing
ms, to purſue the advantage already obtained; and if
able to proceed in perſon, to commit the charge of the
oops to Major-General Lyman: or, if he found it im-
acticable to inveſt Crown-Point that ſeaſon, at leaſt to
ke himſelf maſter, if poſſible, of the enemy's advanced
ſt at Ticonderoga. But all was ineffectual: the laurel

being

being already acquired, fortune was not again to be put to a deſperate venture.

We will now, if your Lordſhip pleaſes, return to Oſwego, where General Shirley arrived the 21ſt of Auguſt, and take a view of the courſe of his proceedings in that quarter.

Your Lordſhip may remember, that the troops marched from Schenectady with ſcarce half the number of batteau men, which contracted for the ſervice; and theſe, by frequent deſertions, gradually decreaſed. Hence the tranſportation of proviſions, through this long tract of country, was ſo much impeded, that, until the latter end of September, it was impoſſible, upon that account, to move from Oſwego.

The general, however, had, in the mean time, made all the neceſſary preparations for the expedition to Niagara: and as the arrival of a large convoy with proviſions was then hourly expected, he held a council of war, at his camp, on the 18th of September; at which were preſent

His Excellency the GENERAL,

Lieut. Col. Elliſon,	Major Bradſtreet, Adj. Gen.
Lieut. Col. Mercer,	Capt. Barford,
Col. Schuyler,	Capt. Broadley, Com. of the
Capt. Patten,	veſſels on the Lake.
Major Littlehales,	

The general informed this council, that through the great deſertion of batteau-men, the ſcarcity of waggons on the Mohawk River, and the deſertion of ſledgemen at the Great Carrying-Place, the conveyance of proviſions and other ſtores had been ſo much retarded, that there had not been at any time ſince his arrival, a ſufficient quantity of dry proviſions to enable him to go upon action: but as a large ſupply would probably very ſoon arrive, he was determined to proceed immediately. He thought proper to inform them of his intelligence concerning the ſituation and ſtrength of the enemy, which was to this purpoſe: That before he left the Oneida Carry-Place, two truſty Indians, with as many Albany traders, were ſent as ſpies to Niagara; who, after fourteen days abſence, returned with an account, That the Indians had been two days in the French fort there, which was built partly of ſtone, but principally of logs:

s, being in a weak and ruinous condition: that the gar-on conſiſted of about 60 French and 100 Indians, who d they had for ſome time expected 900 Indians and a antity of ſtores from Canada; but were apprehenſive ir veſſels were taken: that letters came in frequently m Fort Du Queſne, whence alſo they expected a conſid-ble reinforcement. The ſpies added, that the Indians re diſguſted at the diviſion of the ſpoils on the defeat of neral Braddock, and that the French had loſt 30 men in it engagement: that they ſaw many Engliſh ſcalps, with arge quantity of cloaths and furniture: that the French d there 70 or 80 large batteaux, with which they intend-to meet and board our veſſels: and this article was con-med by another Indian, who ſet out after the ſpies, and eting one of our row-gallies, cautioned the commander ainſt a nearer approach to Niagara.

His Excellency alſo informed the council, that an Indian had been with the Outawawas, who aſſiſted the French the action at Monongahela; that they had declared their lination to lay down the hatchet; and that others, more ſterly, gave the like intimations; which had induced n to diſpatch four meſſengers with belts of wampum, to vite them into our alliance, or at leaſt to engage their utrality.

Upon the general's arrival at Oſwego, he thought it ne-ſary to procure intelligence from Frontenac; and for it purpoſe ſent out a party of white men and Indians, o returned about the 8th of September, with informa-n, that they landed upon an iſland, about ſix furlongs m the fort, from whence they had a full view of it; it it was built in a bay, near the edge of the water, and rounded by a ſtone wall; the land behind it cleared, d riſing in a gradual acclivity; that two veſſels, of about tons each, lay moored in the harbour, unrigged, and thout guns; that at the eaſt end of the fort, there was a gular encampment, and ſix marquis tents; from the ex-t of which they imagined it contained about 3 or 400 n. Upon the ſide of the bay, oppoſite the fort, the land ojected about half a mile: between this and the Iſland ey were upon, was another little iſland, about three quar-s of a mile from the fort, inhabited by about twenty In-

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dian families. The ſpies added, that there were ſeveral other adjacent iſlands; but they diſcovered no batteaux. His excellency farther acquainted the council, that an Indian that came to Oſwego about the time of his arrival, and had left Frontenac nine days before, declared there were thirty French within the fort; a conſiderable quantity of powder, and many guns mounted on the ſurrounding wall, which was about ſix feet thick; and the encampment without conſiſted of 600 ſoldiers. The information of Redhead, to the ſame effect, was alſo laid before the council, with the addition, that there were two encampments, one of Canadians, and the other of regulars, in a hollow, undiſcoverable from the iſland; and that he was told, by the commandant, of a much larger number of troops expected with the General, lately arrived from France; when they propoſed to inveſt Oſwego. Gen. Johnſon's letter of the 1ſt of September, ſignifying, that his ſcouts informed him of the departure of 300 canoes to Frontenac, was alſo conſidered: and from theſe articles of intelligence, the account of the arrival of the French troops, the ſuſpenſion of all intercourſe between Frontenac and Niagara, and their lying ſtill ſo long at the former, his Excellency obſerved, it was not improbable their deſign might be to make a deſcent on Oſwego, if the whole force proceeded on the expedition to Niagara, which was about 150 miles to the weſtward; and from whence, at that advanced ſeaſon, they could not return in leſs than thirty days. That this was the more probable, as Oſwego was of the greateſt importance for ſecuring the frontiers of the weſtern colonies, maintaining the Britiſh dominion over the great lakes, and the country beyond the Apalachian mountains. He alſo took notice of the defenceleſs ſtate of Oſwego, which would render it neceſſary to leave a ſtrong garriſon there: that the number of effectives at that time in the three regiments and independent companies, including ſerjeants and corporals, amounted to 1376; and that the irregulars, who were Albany men and Indians, procured by his own emiſſaries, conſiſted only of 120. For the better ſecurity of the place, the General had ordered to be built, with all poſſible diſpatch, a ſtrong, wooden fort, capable of mounting cannon, with pickets and a ditch, on a high point, commanding

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the old fort on the eaſt ſide of the river. This, he obſerved, was already begun, and would ſoon be completed: and that for the propoſed enterpriſe, he had built and equipped a ſloop and ſchooner of ſixty tons each; two row-gallies, each of twenty tons; with eight whale-boats, each capable of carrying ſixteen men. He then informed them of his intention to embark for Niagara, as ſoon as the expected convoy arrived, with 600 regulars, including gunners and matroſſes, beſides the Albany and Indian irregulars, one 18 pounder, four 12 pounders, a ten-inch mortar, a ſeven-inch howet, two royals, and five ſmall ſwivel-howets; the veſſels, whale-boats, and a competent number of batteaux; leaving behind him 700 effectives, two 12 pounders, ten 6 pounders, ſix 3 pounders, and eight cohorns.

The council, upon this repreſentation, were unanimouſly of opinion, in anſwer to the ſeveral queſtions propoſed, that the force intended for the Niagara expedition was ſufficient: but with reſpect to Oſwego, ſome imagined it would not be defenſible: the majority, however, were of contrary ſentiments. All agreed, that a feint upon Frontenac, while his excellency was gone to Niagara, was by no means adviſeable. They univerſally concurred in opinion, that a fort ought to be erected on the weſt ſide of the old fort: and that it would be for his Majeſty's ſervice to prepare materials for building one or more veſſels, larger than any of thoſe already upon the lake, capable of mounting ten 6 pounders, beſides ſwivels, two more row-gallies, and a hundred good whale-boats.

In conſequence of this advice, 600 regulars were draughted, the artillery and ordnance ſtores ſhipped on board the ſloop Ontario, part of the proviſions on board the ſloop Oſwego, and the reſidue was ready for the row-gallies, whale-boats, and batteaux. While theſe preparations were making, the weather was extremely wet and tempeſtuous. The rains began to fall ſo heavily on the 18th of the month, that on the beſt choſen ground the tents of the ſoldiers were overwhelmed. As 400 of the troops muſt have gone in open boats, it was impoſſible to paſs the lake, with any ſafety, till the ſtorm abated; which was on the 26th of the month, when orders were immediately iſſued for the embarkation

barkation of the troops: but theſe could not be carried into execution. Though the rains ceaſed for a ſhort ſpace of time, the weſtern winds began to blow with redoubled fury; and were again ſucceeded by continual rains for thirteen days together. During this boiſterous weather, numbers fell ſick, whoſe tents were an inſufficient ſhelter; and the Indians, well acquainted with the climate, went off, declaring the ſeaſon too far advanced to admit of an expedition upon the lake.

In the midſt of theſe difficulties, another council, conſiſting of the ſame members who compoſed the laſt, was called on the 27th of September. The general acquainted them with the untoward ſtate of affairs, and ſome of his lateſt advices. He obſerved as follows: That the preceding day, eight batteaux were arrived, with 48 barrels of flour, and 13 of bread; ſo that there was then 14 days full allowance of thoſe ſpecies of proviſions for 2000, being the number then in his camp: That he thought it neceſſary to take with him 21,000 weight of bread and flour, which, for 700 men, forty days, amounted only to three-fourths of the uſual allowance: that, in ſuch caſe, there would be left with the garriſon only 8000 weight of bread and flour, at half allowance for only twelve days: but, by advices received from the Carrying-Place and Mohawk River, he had the greateſt reaſon to expect ſuch a quantity of proviſions, in a few days, as would be a full ſupply for ſome months: that a party of men with two officers in whale-boats, ſent ſeven days before to Frontenac, to diſcover the enemy's motions, were returned, with the following report: That they went into the harbour, and ſaw the fort, which appeared to be a regular ſquare, faced with ſtone, having four embraſures in the front: that the encampment conſiſted of above 100 tents: that two brigantines of about 40 tons each, and a ſmall ſloop, lying then at anchor, were rigged, and the ſails of one of them bent; and a number of batteaux lay near the walls of the fort. He communicated to them alſo a copy of the orders and inſtructions given to the French regulars ſent thither; which were taken from baron Dieſkau, in the action at Lake George: whence it appeared, that ten companies of the Queen's battalion marched from Montreal to Cadaraqui, in two diviſions, upon

ıe firſt and ſecond of Auguſt, together with 250 Cana-
ı, excluſive of Indians: the number of men therefore
ontenac, including the garriſon, might amount to 1000
ives, originally deſigned, as appears from thoſe papers,
ın attack upon Oſwego. He farther took notice of
eparture of ſome of our Indians, and their unanimous
on, that the attempt againſt Niagara could not ſucceed
eaſon; on which account, the remainder were reſolv-
return to their reſpective caſtles; giving, neverthe-
the higheſt aſſurances of their willingneſs to join us in
ı greater numbers in the ſpring: that the Albany traders
of the ſame opinion; that the batteaux, though well
ted for the navigation of ſmall rivers, could not live
he lake in ſuch tempeſtuous weather as had continued
fortnight paſt: that Lieut. Holland, who had reſided
above three years, declared it was commonly windy
wet, with few fair days intervening, during the fall:
it was, beſides, now impracticable for the veſſels and
aux to ſail in concert: and as the veſſels and whale-
would not contain all the ſupplies, there was the ut-
danger of ſpoiling that part of the proviſions and am-
ition, which muſt be conveyed in the batteaux; in
quence of which many of them might be cut off; it
more than probable, from the weakneſs of their fort,
nemy would attack them on the lake: That, from the
ns of the director and ſurgeons of the hoſpital, the
ber of the ſick amounted to about 300, excluſive of
rs; which they imputed to the exceſſive rains, and
of barracks. His Excellency informed them, he pro-
the erection of barracks, and a ſtrong redoubt on the
weſt of the old fort, before the winter was too far ad-
ed.

ıeſe matters, my Lord, were attentively conſidered:
the council of war prayed leave to add to the Gene-
repreſentation, That Major Bradſtreet, ſince his reſi-
e there, was perſuaded 1650 Canadians had paſſed by
ı Cadaraqui to Niagara, for the Ohio; a great part of
m, through ſcarcity of proviſions, he conceived muſt
be upon their return to Canada; and that a conſide-
number of French traders go annually from Canada
etroit, and other French ſettlements to the weſtward,

who, at this ſeaſon, are generally upon their return: that their paſſage home is by the way of Niagara, where, it is very probable, they and all the French will tarry, as long as their proviſions admit, for the defence of ſo important a poſt: That there were then but few proper batteau-men at Oſwego; nor could they be provided with a ſufficient number, as thoſe who underſtood the management of batteaux were chiefly employed in the tranſportation of proviſions from Schenectady to Oſwego, and from Albany to Lake George; and that the ſoldiers were unable to conduct them to Niagara, the lake being turbulent generally five days in ſix.

The advice of the council, my Lord, was unanimouſly to this effect: That the arrival of the batteaux with proviſions, though hourly expected, was by no means to be depended upon, there being ſcalping parties in the neighbourhood; one of which, ſince the laſt council of war, had actually killed three, and captivated two of the workmen employed in building the new fort on the eaſt ſide of the river: and the cutting off the batteaux was the more to be apprehended, as the Indians in our alliance were now returning to their caſtles. Nor did they think it adviſable to riſk the troops in batteaux upon the lake, at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year. They approved his Excellency's intention of raiſing barracks for the ſoldiers without delay; and thought the fort, on the eaſt ſide of the Onondaga river, ought to be completed as ſoon as poſſible; and again adviſed the erection of a work for mounting cannon on the eminence weſt of the old fort: all which, in their opinion, could not be effected before the winter was too far ſet in, without employing the whole ſtrength then at the place. They were alſo unanimouſly and clearly of opinion, that his Excellency ought to defer any attempt on Niagara or Frontenac, till the next ſpring; when they had great reaſon to expect the junction of a large body of the Six Nations, and ſome of the French allies, who had taken up the hatchet againſt the Engliſh, and were concerned on the banks of the Monongahela. Beſides, he might, in the enſuing campaign, have a greater number of troops, whale-boats inſtead of batteaux, and a more powerful naval force, which they conceived ought to be provided againſt the next ſpring.

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This advice, my Lord, the General proceeded immediately to carry into execution. Completing the fort on the east ſide of the river was a matter of principal attention, becauſe ſituated on a high point of land, at 100 yards diſtance from the lake, commanding the ground round about it; the old fort at 450 yards diſtance, and the entrance of the harbour. Its circumference was 800 feet, being built of logs from 20 to 30 inches diameter, and the outer wall fourteen feet high. Round it was to be a ditch fourteen feet broad and ten deep. Within, a ſquare log-houſe to overlook the walls, and barracks for 300 men. This fort, called Ontario, was to mount ſixteen pieces of cannon. Another, called Oſwego, was immediately begun, upon an eminence 450 yards weſt of the old fort. It was a ſquare of 170 feet, with baſtions, and a rampart of earth and maſonry; which, beſides the parapet, was to be twenty feet thick, twelve in height, with a ditch fourteen feet broad and ten deep. The barracks within were to contain 200 men. This was to mount eight pieces of cannon; being made the more defenſible, as it commanded a good landing, diſtant 150 yards on the edge from the lake.

While theſe works were carrying on, the General employed himſelf in a neceſſary attention to Indian affairs. He laboured to eſtabliſh ſome of the principal Onondagas, who were, through negligence, become wavering; and diſpatched meſſages to thoſe who were gone from us, and ſettled at Oſwagatchie, and to the Meſſaſagues and Chipawas on the north ſide of the lake Ontario. Others were ſent to foment the diſaffection of the Outawawas, diſguſted at the French partition of the plunder, on Braddock's defeat. With the Senecas, the remoteſt from our ſettlements of all the five cantons, and therefore the moſt debauched by the French; he ſucceeded ſo well, that they now diſmiſſed Joncaire, one of their emiſſaries, whoſe father had been long ſuffered to reſide among them, in ſpite of our repeated remonſtrances, and was the chief preſerver of the fort at Niagara. They alſo engaged to meet him, the next campaign, with 100 of their warriors, and promiſed, for the future, to refuſe the aſſiſtance they had formerly given the French, in tranſporting their furs, with horſes and ſleds, acroſs the Niagara Carrying-Place; as neceſſary

neceſſary there, as at any of our portages between Schenectady and Oſwego. When nothing further could be proſecuted, the General retired from Oſwego the 24th of October, leaving 700 men in garriſon, under the command of Lieut. Col. Mercer, with orders to continue the works projected for its defence.

Having, my Lord, taken up too much of your time in a circumſtantial relation of the proceeding in this quarter, I ſhall not trouble you with any reflections upon them. Your Lordſhip has ſeen the inſurmountable difficulties attending this weſtern expedition; and will doubtleſs approve our not hazarding the loſs of Oſwego. That ſuch would have been the event, had Mr. Shirley left the place about the beginning of October, was wiſely foreſeen, from the advices he had received; and Baron Dieſkau, juſt after the action at Lake George, aſſured a gentleman of diſtinction in the army, he queſtioned not the Engliſh General would make himſelf maſter of Niagara; but that the French had half the forces he brought with him from Breſt, with a number of Canadians and Indians, at Frontenac, ready, immediately on his departure, to inveſt Oſwego, and cut off his retreat.

While the General was at Albany, after his return from the Lake, forwarding the ſupplies for the garriſon at Oſwego, preparing for the operations of the next campaign, and examining into the ſtate of the troops arrived there under Col. Dunbar, the city was alarmed by expreſſes from General Johnſon, informing, that 8 or 9000 of the enemy were advancing towards him. Sir Charles Hardy, then at Albany, called in the militia; and a detachment of the regular troops, with a train of artillery, held themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. But another expreſs gave reaſon to believe thoſe apprehenſions were ill-grounded, and General Johnſon's fears, in ſome meaſure, abated. It ſeems a few Indian ſcouts had diſcovered the tracks of a large army; but Capt. Rogers, the brave officer before-montioned, came into the camp ſoon after them, and declared, the enemy were employed, as the General had predicted in his letter to Mr. Johnſon of the 19th of September, in throwing up works at Ticonderoga. Upon which, the militia were diſmiſſed to their reſpective habitations.

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Of the malignity of the New-York faction againſt the neral, I have already acquainted your Lordſhip: per- t me to preſent you with another inſtance of the ſame rit. A mercenary ſcribbler, of whom I ſhall ſoon take re particular notice, is pleaſed to inform the public, that Col. Dunbar, with his forces, were obliged ſix weeks to ie encamped at Albany, in the rain and ſnow, till bar- acks were built for them: that they were entirely bliged to Sir Charles Hardy, that they got a ſtick of wood to burn. So (ſays he) were our forces diſpoſed of."

Albany, my Lord, is an old, compact city, conſiſting of or 400 well built houſes; and at about 16 miles N. W. om it, is the town of Schenectady, conſiſting of about o houſes. The inhabitants are far from being indigent; e adjacent country abounds with proviſions; and in ch quarters, your Lordſhip is ſenſible, his Majeſty's oops will not want neceſſaries, eſpecially *fuel*, in a coun- covered with timber. Where then the probability, at the forces, which conſiſted of 1200, would ſuffer in a ſt like this? As to the affair of barracks, my Lord, ere was a council held at New-York, on the firſt of Au- ſt, when the news arrived of Col. Dunbar's retiring in- winter quarters, after Braddock's defeat. It was com- ſed of Mr. De Lancey, the Lieutenant-Governor, Meſſrs. exander, Kennedy, Murray, Holland, Chambers, and ith; and the opinion of that board then was, "*That not only the King's forces to the ſouthward, but alſo thoſe that could be ſpared from Nova-Scotia, ſhould quarter near Albany, for any future operations.*" This reſolve, Mr. De ncey tranſmitted to the General at Oſwego; and as nbar's troops were ordered to Albany, for the defence that country, and particularly to make a ſtand, in caſe e provincials were defeated, they had, methinks, the ghteſt reaſon to expect favour from the inhabitants, and e ſpecial countenance of the government, even had they en quartered upon them as uſual: and which, at pre- nt, is actually the caſe, by expreſs orders of my Lord udon. The General, I ſay, had no reaſon to expect, on this head, any oppoſition from the civil magiſtrate. ut Sir Charles Hardy, on his arrival at Albany, about the

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26th of September, ſignified to him by letter, his apprehenſions of uneaſineſs ariſing among the inhabitants, ſhould the ſoldiers be quartered upon private families; and wiſhed to have his Excellency's orders for building barracks both there and at Schenectady, leſt his aſſembly ſhould not chooſe to put the province to that charge. He alſo expreſſed his hopes, if ſuch an expenſe was ſaved them, of their greater readineſs to raiſe more men, ſhould the ſervice require it, the next campaign. The General's anſwer to this letter equally demonſtrated his integrity to the crown, and concern for the troops. He intimated his fears, that the conſtruction of barracks would be thought an extraordinary expenſe; but it being neceſſary for the ſervice, that Dunbar's, and the regiment of the late Sir Peter Halket, ſhould winter in Albany and Schenectady, he complied with Sir Charles's requeſt; and deſired him to provide barracks for thoſe regiments with all poſſible diligence, that the troops, on their arrival in his government, might not find themſelves deſtitute of quarters. To relieve the crown in the expenſe, he farther took notice to Sir Charles, of the requeſt made by his own government for drawing theſe troops to Albany; that they would in a ſpecial manner cover the frontier of New-York, be of ſervice to Oſwego in the enſuing ſpring, and that the inhabitants would draw very large ſums from their reſidence amongſt them. Nor did he forget to recommend an imitation of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, who thought it reaſonable to erect barracks for his own regiment, though they knew their continuance among them would be ſhort, deſtined as they were for the weſtern expedition. But that there might be no delay in building the barracks, ariſing from any doubt of the expenſe being paid by the province of New-York, Mr. Shirley informed Sir Charles, that if they would not, after theſe conſiderations, take that expenſe on themſelves, he would defray it out of the contingent money in the hands of the deputy paymaſter. Thus, my Lord, if any ground for complaint of the want of barracks, Mr. Shirley, it is clear, was intirely unceniurable: and if the troops, as this libeller informs us, did ſuffer in their tents, I ſubmit it to your Lordſhip, whoſe province it was to have found them better quarters. But the fact is, that

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e barracks were finiſhed, and the troops quartered in em before the firſt of December, fuel provided for them ficient for the winter, and all at the expenſe of the crown. The winter now approaching, commiſſioners were ap-inted, by the governments concerned in the Crown-int expedition, to aſcertain their reſpective quotas for riſoning the forts Edward and William-Henry, and diſ-ding the reſt of the army. After this was completed, General and Sir Charles Hardy returned to New-York, ere the former convened a grand congreſs of governors d field officers, to deliberate on a plan for the operations the ſucceeding campaign. But before I enter upon their nſactions, I ſhall briefly lay before your Lordſhip thoſe tween Sir Charles Hardy and his aſſembly, which was ened on the 2d, and continued ſitting till the 23d of cember.

I have already obſerved, that the miniſtry, from the time Mr. Clinton's departure in 1753, had been ſolicitous out procuring the conſent of our aſſembly to a law, eſta-ſhing a permanent proviſion for the Governor, and other ceſſary officers. When Sir Danvers Oſborne arrived, he ought with him an inſtruction for that purpoſe; from e terms of which it was apparent that the miniſtry had much at heart; and Sir Danvers, before he left England, s made to believe that Mr. De Lancey, by means of his eat popularity, would enable him to carry it into execu-n. This I had from a gentleman, to whom Sir Danvers ened himſelf, and whom he conſulted before his embar-tion for his government. The gentleman is a perſon of e firſt figure in theſe colonies; and being acquainted ith the ſyſtem of politics in New-York, he informed Sir anvers, that thoſe promiſes were by no means to be de-pended upon: that Mr. De Lancey was inexpreſſibly alous of his aſcendancy over the aſſembly, who were ut-ly diſinclined to a perpetual ſupport: that he would in in no meaſures that might weaken the confidence they poſed in him: that as long as he maintained his influ-ce in their counſels, he would virtually be the governor f the province; and therefore, upon the whole, his inter-t and ambition would infallibly lead him to keep every overnor in a ſtate of dependence upon him. Sir Dan-

vers

vers diſliked ſo diſagreeable a prediction; and many are of opinion, that its accompliſhment haſtened his unhappy fate. Excuſe me, my Lord, for troubling you with a relation of facts, a little out of the ſtrict order of time. There is an anecdote of Sir Danvers, of which I would not have your Lordſhip uninformed. He arrived here on the 7th of October, 1753, under very diſcouraging apprehenſions of the people; and indeed not without reaſon, the oppoſition againſt Mr. Clinton having been carried beyond all decorum. Governor Oſborne's commiſſion, through Mr. Clinton's abſence, remained unpubliſhed till the third day after his arrival. This is uſually done firſt privately, in the council-chamber; and immediately after, in the moſt public manner at the city-hall. To wait on his Excellency thither, Mr. Clinton came abroad; an aſtoniſhing crowd being aſſembled at the Fort Gate, to attend the proceſſion. Mr. Clinton's enemies were very aſſiduous in exciting the popular acclamations; and the huzzas of the mob were ſcarce intermitted for a moment. There appeared, in ſhort, ſuch a profuſion of joy, accompanied with ſome indecent expreſſions reſpecting himſelf, as gave Mr. Clinton juſt reaſon to ſuſpect more open indignities. He therefore ſoon took his leave of Sir Danvers, who expreſſed his diſpleaſure at the conduct of his enemies. This, my Lord, proved a day of general feſtivity and Bacchanalian frolic. In the evening, the city was illuminated: the common blazed with bonfires: great was the conſumption of Madeira; and every company rung with maledictions againſt the late commander in chief, who was charged as the ſole procurer of the new inſtruction; an account of which could only have tranſpired from ſome of the council. Sir Danvers alone appeared unaffected with our intemperate revels; and on his countenance ſat a melancholy gloom. He convened the council on Thurſday the 11th of the month; and prayed their ſentiments on the probability of obtaining a permanent ſupport, according to his inſtructions. That the point was unattainable, they all delivered as their unanimous opinion. He then required the ſolution of the ſame queſtion from each member ſeverally; and ſtill from each received the ſame reply. Upon this, he turned himſelf about in apparent diſtreſs, uttered a deep ſigh, and reclining

ining his head againſt a window, in a deſponding ac-
ent, ſaid, " What then am I come hither for?" The
ext morning——But I deſiſt. This inſtruction, as
our Lordſhip will be pleaſed to recollect, remained un-
voked all the time of his ſucceſſor: and it is natu-
l to expect, that the people of this province were
ry inquiſitive whether it was continued to Govern-
r Hardy. They were ſo. But Sir Charles did not fol-
w the example of Mr. De Lancey, in laying his inſtruc-
ons before the aſſembly. The article, relative to the ſup-
ort, has undergone, I am credibly informed, very few al-
rations, and thoſe only in the preamble. That it was in
ubſtance the ſame, is evident from his ſpeech to the houſe,
n the 3d of December, at the opening of that ſeſſion. His
ords are theſe: " *I am commanded by his Majeſty to recom-
mend, in his name, without delay, to conſider of a proper law
to be paſſed, for ſettling a permanent revenue, upon a ſolid
foundation, for defraying the neceſſary and eſtabliſhed charges
of government; taking care that ſuch law be indefinite, with-
out limitation of time; and that proviſion be made therein for
a competent ſalary to the Captain-General and Governor in
Chief of this his Majeſty's province; and likewiſe for compe-
tent ſalaries to all judges, juſtices, and other neceſſary and
uſual officers and miniſters of government: and alſo for a cer-
tain permanent fund, for repairing and maintaining the fortifi-
cations, for making annual preſents to the Indians, and for the
other contingent expenſes attending that ſervice: and, in gen-
eral, for all ſuch other charges of government, as may be fixed
or aſcertained.*" The aſſembly, in their addreſs, after a
uſtly-merited compliment, for his activity in proceeding to
lbany, and their approbation of the meaſures for garriſon-
ng the frontiers, ſubjoin this emollient paragraph: " *We
wiſh we could, with equal ſatisfaction, reconcile to ourſelves
your Excellency's recommendation of an indefinite ſupport: but
humbly beg leave to inform your Excellency, that we have no
permanent funds, on which to eſtabliſh ſuch a revenue; nor do
any occur to us, without very apparent inconveniencies to our
conſtituents. We therefore moſt humbly hope we ſhall ſtand
acquitted in the eyes of our moſt gracious Sovereign, if we de-
cline a meaſure ſo directly oppoſite to the ſentiments of almoſt
every individual of the colony. We cannot leave this ſubject,*

" *without diſcloſing to your Excellency the concern it gives us,*
" *that this his Majeſty's loyal colony, which, though ſmall in*
" *numbers, has cheerfully bore very heavy expenſes, and particu-*
" *larly ſupported its Governors, and other officers of government,*
" *in a more liberal manner than moſt others on the continent,*
" *ſhould be requeſted to purſue meaſures hitherto unknown to it,*
" *whilſt the reſt, almoſt without exception, are left to practiſe*
" *the very meaſures denied to us.*"

Mr. Clinton, my Lord, aſked of this ſame aſſembly only a ſupport for five years, and it was refuſed with indignation and virulence. Sir Charles here demands much more; and we ſee, that he is anſwered with the moſt commendable decency. To help your Lordſhip in accounting for this contradictory behaviour; Mr. De Lancey was bent upon expelling that Governor from the province: and to gain his point, continually fomented the quarrel he himſelf excited. But Sir Charles was to be treated in a different manner, and meaſures more lenient were to be purſued. An aſcendancy over him would enſure to his lieutenant many advantages, and enable him to procure the governor's aſſent to a bill, for paying him a large ſum, now due for his ſalary and other perquiſites, while he had the chief command. He might indeed, but durſt not paſs ſuch a bill himſelf, and therefore it was not offered. Accordingly, the houſe, at their very next meeting, ſent up a bill to the council, on the 4th of February, 1756, for paying the debts of the government; in which he was a creditor for near 4000l. But of this I ſhall have occaſion to take more particular notice. Thus, my Lord, I will forfeit my honour, if, upon a faithful peruſal of the journals of aſſembly, your Lordſhip doth not find the conduct of the houſe, and the intereſt of Mr. De Lancey, for ten or fifteen years paſt, perfectly to tally.

Let us now take a view of the tranſactions in the grand council of war, which the General had convened at New-York, for ſettling a plan of the future operations. It was opened on the 12th of December, 1755, and continued ſitting for the ſpace of two days. Though the invitation to the governors was univerſal, it conſiſted only of theſe members:

His

His Excellency General Shirley, commander in chief of all his Majeſty's forces in North America:

His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, governor and commander in chief of the province of New-York:

The Honourable Horatio Sharpe, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the province of Maryland:

The Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the province of Pennſylvania:

The Honourable Thomas Fitch, governor and commander in chief of the colony of Connecticut:

Colonel Thomas Dunbar:

Colonel Peter Schuyler:

Major Charles Craven:

Sir John St. Clair, deputy quarter-maſter general:

Major John Rutherford.

After adjuſting ſeveral points of rank, the members took their ſeats in the order mentioned; and the General opened the conference, by laying before the council the King's inſtructions to General Braddock. He then delivered his ſentiments to the board, to the following purpoſe: "*That our only entrance into Lake Ontario was through the Onondaga River to Oſwego. No other harbour had his Majeſty, upon that Lake, capable of receiving veſſels of force: That Oſwego was ſituate in the country of the Onondagas, the center canton of the Six Nations, and famous for the fur trade: no other mart could we boaſt, for commerce or correſpondence with thoſe numerous tribes of ſavages inhabiting the weſtern country, on the banks of the great lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and the many rivers which roll into them: That the Lake Ontario was only acceſſible to the Canadians through the river Cadaraqui, formerly called by the French Fleuve Iroquois; but in their late maps, calculated to countenance their exorbitant claims, diſtinguiſhed by the name of St. Lawrence. At the head of that river was their entrance into that lake, and near Fort Frontenac, ſituated on its north-eaſtern edge, about fifty miles from, and nearly oppoſite to, our fort at Oſwego: That while the enemy kept poſſeſſion of Frontenac, with the harbour at Fronto, and a free paſſage through the Iroquois River, they would always be able to build and maintain veſſels of force upon the lake; That his Majeſty would therefore be neceſſitated to ſupport a*

"*naval*

" *naval armament there, at leaſt equal to that of the Frenc*
" *Without this, they might annoy any forts we could erect at t*
" *north-eaſt end of the paſs at Niagara; and Oſwego itſelf*
" *loſt. The inevitable conſequence of which would be, the defe*
" *tion of the Six Nations, the loſs of the whole country, for nea*
" 300 *miles, from Oſwego to Schenectady, and perhaps the re*
" *duction of Albany itſelf.*" The General added, " *That all*
" *the French forts at Niagara, upon the lake Erie, and the river*
" *Ohio, thoſe alſo upon lake Huron, at the Streights of Michi-*
" *imackinac, and the Lake Michigan, ſtill more weſterly, received*
" *all their ſupplies by water-carriage from Montreal, through the*
" *River Iroquois, and the Lake Ontario: That the French ſettle-*
" *ments at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi furniſhed theſe northern*
" *garriſons neither with proviſions nor ſtores, being not only at*
" 2000 *miles diſtance from any of them, but embarraſſed with in-*
" *ſuperable difficulties, by a laborious navigation againſt a rapid*
" *ſtream.*" Hence his Excellency concluded, " *That could*
" *the French be diſlodged from Frontenac, and the little fort at*
" *Fronto, and their entrance into Lake Ontario obſtructed, all*
" *their other forts and ſettlements on the Ohio, and the weſtern*
" *lakes, were deprived of their ſupport from Canada, and muſt*
" *ere long be evacuated.*"

Impreſſed, my Lord, with theſe views, the General propoſed, as a plan of operations for the next year, That 5000 men ſhould be very early aſſembled at Oſwego, and 4000 of them ſent to attack Frontenac and La Gallette; which being reduced, an attempt ſhould be made upon the forts at Niagara, Preſque Iſle, Riviere au Beuf, Detroit, and Michilimakinac: and that, in the mean time, 3000 provincial troops ſhould march from Will's Creek, for the reduction of Fort Du Queſne: That a body of 10,000 ſhould proceed to Crown-Point, build a fort there, and launch one or more veſſels into Lake Champlain: And, that the force of Canada might be farther divided, he propoſed, that 2000 men ſhould carry fire and ſword up Kennebec River, fall upon the ſettlements adjoining to the river Chaudiere, and proceed to its mouth, three miles diſtant from Quebec; and by dividing themſelves in ſmall parties along the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and deſtroying the ſcattered ſettlements there, keep that part of Canada in continual alarms.

He

then obſerved, that if the ſeveral attempts upon
n-Point, the forts upon the Lakes, and the Ohio,
not proſecuted at the ſame time, very perilous might
e conſequences: That if, in particular, while Fron-
and Niagara were attacked, no attempt was made
ſt Crown-Point, the whole force of Canada would
1 to oppoſe us; which would defeat the deſign, and
re ſo large a body of troops, as to render the tranſ-
tion of neceſſaries to Oſwego impracticable. So nu-
us an army might alſo march againſt Albany, as ef-
lly to cut off the retreat of our forces, or at leaſt to-
obſtruct their ſupplies: That ſhould, on the con-
, our whole ſtrength be deſtined for Crown-Point,
he weſtern operations neglected, Oſwego, the grand
: of the French, was in the utmoſt danger of falling
heir hands. A loſs irreparable, and beyond eſtima-
the loſs of the whole country down to Albany,
that of the Six confederate Nations; and to the
h, the acquiſition of an abſolute dominion on the
and the whole ſouthern country.

Excellency finiſhed with informing the council of
te intelligence: That the French were building three
veſſels, of ſuperior force to ours, in the harbour of
:enac: and upon the whole, prayed their advice.

)lan, ſo well digeſted, and ſo clearly ſtated, required but
conſideration; and accordingly it was in the main
mouſly approved. The council adviſed the General
'e orders for building three or more veſſels at Oſwe-
They were of opinion, that 10,000 men were neceſ-
or the Crown-Point expedition, and 6000 for that
ke Ontario. The attempt againſt Fort Du Queſne,
e weſtern governments, it was thought, would an-
very good purpoſes, eſpecially in ſecuring the fidelity
: weſtern Indians. The feint againſt Quebec was ap-
d, if it interfered not with the other expeditions.
)perations on Lake Ontario, they conceived, ought to
with the attack on Frontenac: and, upon the whole,
of opinion, that an additional number of regular
3 would be neceſſary for effectually recovering and ſe-
g his Majeſty's rights and dominions on the continent.
e council having finiſhed their buſineſs, the Govern-

ors

ors ſoon after returned to their reſpective provinces. But the General continued his head-quarters at New-York till the 21ſt of January, to proſecute an expedition againſt Ticonderoga, this winter: and as the French garriſon was left very weak, it had doubtleſs ſucceeded, had not the want of froſt and ſnow prevented the tranſportation of the ſtores. Before he left New-York, he had a freſh inſtance of the unwearied and ill-natured induſtry of his oppoſers; of which, becauſe important in its conſequences, I ſhall give your Lordſhip an ample detail. The principal agents were Meſſrs. De Lancey and Pownal, who now formed a kind of duumvirate, to perplex the ſervice, in order to ruin the General. Without queſtion, my Lord, you are as much ſurpriſed, after what has already been ſaid concerning theſe gentlemen, to find Mr. Pownal among the General's enemies, as you would have been had I told you that Mr. De Lancey was not. I am ſenſible, that a perſon of your Lordſhip's high ſenſe of honour will recollect Mr. Shirley's favours to him at Boſton; and think it incredible to find him in the catalogue of thoſe combined againſt his benefactor. But it is a ſhining remark of Tacitus,* "That benefits "are only ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to diſcharge "them; and that when they have exceeded all retaliation, "hatred is returned for gratitude." Mr. Pownal, who was ambitious of recommending himſelf to a certain noble Lord in England, by furniſhing him with American intelligence, could by no means brook his being abſent from the congreſs at Alexandria, in the ſpring of the preſent year. He earneſtly ſought an introduction to Gen. Braddock; and Mr. Shirley did the office with great politeneſs. He was then juſt informed of his appointment to be Lieut. Governor of New-Jerſey, and on that account preſſed for an admiſſion into the council. Mr. Shirley, in a very genteel manner, declined a taſk, which might give offence to the General; and if any reſolution tranſpired, draw himſelf into a ſnare. But Mr. Pownal, being a ſtranger to that diffidence and modeſty ſo ſuitable to his years and inexperience, became, from this moment, diſguſted, and was ſeldom after ſeen amongſt that gentleman's friends. He

* Beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

tarried at Philadelphia, till General Braddock's defeat; l towards autumn returned to New-York. This change emper recommended him to Mr. De Lancey, who fail- not to exaſperate the riſing reſentment: and now his oſition became open and unreſerved. Juſt at this junc- e, arrived Sir Charles Hardy; and Mr. Shirley being n at Oſwego, your Lordſhip ſees how ſeaſonable their ortunity for ſowing the ſeeds of prejudice in the breaſt he new Governor. I will not take upon me to ſpeak heir ſucceſs; but doubtleſs no miſrepreſentations were ıting to ſtrengthen the cabal. Yet no ſooner did the neral arrive from Oſwego at Albany, where Meſſrs. vnal and De Lancey attended upon Sir Charles, than former, diſſembling his enmity, laboured to procure confidence, that he might pry into his ſecrets: but n previous intimations of his preſent diſpoſition, in a er to a gentleman then near the General, he failed in t inſidious deſign. He could now no longer ſuppreſs malevolence, or conceal his recent connexions; and refore openly traduced the very man, to whom he was ebted for all his ſignificancy amongſt the provinces. Lord, it is with reluctance I utter theſe things. But r Lordſhip is as determined to know every tranſaction, ich concerns the operations in America, as I am to diſ- rge the office of a faithful hiſtorian. Truth is too ſa- d to be violated, either out of fear or favour; and atever your Lordſhip may think of this gentleman, h was his conduct. I knew him an avowed enemy to . De Lancey, and to Mr. Shirley as ſanguine a friend. ave ſince known him to calumniate the latter, and ap- ud the former. With a change of reſidence, or rather creſt, he changes ſides; and, on this account, no man haps ever multiplied ſo many adverſaries in ſo ſhort a e. He aims at two governments, without the leaſt ſpect of peace, if either of them ſhould fall under his mand. I can aſſure your Lordſhip, that even in the vince of New-Jerſey he is ſo little eſteemed, and that ncipally for intriguing the diſbandment of the regiment der Col. Schuyler, to diſoblige Mr. Shirley, that upon return to England in February, in 1756, he was unable procure a vote of aſſembly, deſiring his aſſiſtance of their

their agent at the Court of Great-Britain, though he puſhed it with an earneſtneſs that would have coſt moſt men a bluſh of confuſion.

Determined to embarraſs the General, nothing could have been more agreeable to Mr. Pownal, and the Lieut. Governor of New-York, than an admiſſion into the late council of war. To a ſeat at that board, neither of them had the leaſt pretenſion; and yet both were highly diſpleaſed at not being invited. Mr. Pownal, who has often diſtinguiſhed himſelf for puſhing a bold point, repaired to New-Jerſey, and importuned Governor Belcher, unable, on account of his age, to attend the congreſs in perſon, to depute him in his ſtead. His Excellency very wiſely anſwered, that the invitation he had received from the General, was merely a perſonal compliment: nor could he, with the leaſt decency, inſiſt upon an appearance by proxy. His Lieutenant, impatient of a denial, called, in a menacing tone, for pen, ink, and paper, thinking to operate on the infirmities of age by commination and outrage. The council were aſtoniſhed at this indecent attack upon an ancient and faithful ſervant of the Crown, and withheld their advice. But the Governor, conſcious of the propriety of his refuſal, firmly adhered to his firſt reſolution; and Mr. Pownal, abruptly quitting the board, returned with diſappointment to New-York.

This gentleman, my Lord, became acquainted at Philadelphia with one Evans, who, for a valuable* conſideration, dedicated

* Among other gentlemen of diſtinction in the colonies, Mr. Pownal became acquainted with Mr. Alexander, of New-York; a perſon of friendly diſpoſition and eaſy acceſs. Mr. Alexander had now the Surveyor-General's office of New-Jerſey: and Mr. Pownal, to procure the fulſome dedication from Evans, promiſed him that office, upon his acceſſion to the government. This, Evans frequently declared in his illneſs to one of his moſt intimate friends, who concealed it till after his death. Such an anecdote will ſcarcely be credited by thoſe unacquainted with Mr. Pownal's inſatiable ambition to riſe in America. There was another inſtance of his conduct equally ſurpriſing. While this gentleman was at New-York, diſcharging his embaſſy from Boſton, in the ſpring, 1755, he had the loan of a map of the country from Crown-Point to Montreal, which was compoſed by William Alexander, Eſq. a gentleman well ſkilled in the geography of America. Mr. Pownal, who had occaſion to lay this chart before the aſſembly of New-York, having

ledicated to him his map of the middle Britiſh colonies, with an encomium, that he eſteemed him *the beſt judge of it in America.* This man having, in the public ſtreets of Philadelphia, not only preſumed to accuſe Governor Morris of high treaſon, but to aſperſe two of his Majeſty's miniſters as penſioners to France, fled from juſtice there, nd took ſanctuary in New-York. Mr. Morris, however, ommenced an action againſt him in this province, more for his own vindication, than a reparation of damages, which the poor fellow would never have been able to make. Upon this, he was committed to gaol, till Mr. Oliver De Lancey ſo far befriended him, as to become his ſecurity. Theſe were his circumſtances, when he publiſhed pamphlet full of invectives againſt Gen. Shirley. I will ot affirm, that he wrote it at the inſtance of the cabal in ew-York. I leave your Lordſhip to judge how far they ere concerned in it, after adding, that it contained their epeated remarks; that Mr. Pownal was frequently at his dgings about the time of its publication; and did actully accompany him to a printer, to haſten the impreſſion, efore he ſailed for England.* I ſhall not trouble your ordſhip with any particular obſervations upon this libel. ever it ſhould fall into your Lordſhip's hands, this letter will aſſiſt you in detecting its falſehoods, and forming proper judgment both of its author and his abettors.

Thus, my Lord, was every opportunity embraced, by he cabal, to prejudice the General in the opinion of the eople; and happy for the colonies, had their miſrepreentations been confined to this ſide the Atlantic. Bent on

aving eraſed the name of its author, very modeſtly inſerted his own. nd though his plagiariſm was detected at the time, he neglected to reurn it, and afterwards produced the ſame map before the miniſtry, laiming to himſelf the honor due to Mr. Alexander alone.

* Upon the news of the loſs of Oſwego, part of it was republiſhed n the New-York Gazette, to lead the populace to impute this calamity o General Shirley. It was appealed to, as an indiſputable authority, by the very perſons to whom poor Evans was indebted for his materials; and without whoſe dictating, it would never have ſeen the light. To write a book in another's name, and then to quote it as an authority, is a ſpecies of proof, with which Euclid appears to have been utterly unacquainted.

on Mr. Shirley's removal, all imaginable pains were taken to defame his character. Here, they queſtioned his integrity: but in England, they endeavoured to create a ſuſpicion of his judgment. General Johnſon was ſet up as his competitor; and to his renown were blown all the trumpets of fame. Shirley's deep ſenſe of the importance of Oſwego was made the object of buffoonery and ridicule. The reduction of Crown-Point repreſented as a matter of ſuperior moment. Three hundred men, Mr. De Lancey often declared to be a ſufficient garriſon for Oſwego. The General was therefore charged with ſquandering the king's money, in making it the main object of his attention: and out of mere oppoſition, a ſcheme was recommended for turning our whole force toward Crown-Point. Upon this errand, my Lord, Mr. Pownal went home in February, 1756. I need not inform your Lordſhip of the ſucceſs of the faction. The ſequel will ſhew with what conſequences it was attended. Thus ended the year 1755. A year never to be forgotten in America. It opened with the faireſt proſpects to theſe diſtant diſperſions of the Britiſh empire. Four armies were on foot, to remove the encroachments of a perfidious neighbour; and our coaſts honoured with a fleet for their ſecurity, under the command of the brave and vigilant Boſcawen. We had every thing to expect; nothing to fear. The enemy was deſpiſed; and we only deſired a proclamation of war, for the final deſtruction of the whole country of New-France. But, my Lord, how unlooked-for was the event! General Winſlow, indeed, ſucceded in Nova-Scotia; but Braddock was defeated: Niagara and Crown-Point remained unreduced: the barbarians were let looſe from the wilderneſs: many thouſand farms abandoned: the King's ſubjects inhumanly butchered, or reduced to beggary: one of the provinces* rent by inteſtine broils: in another, a potent faction laying the foundation for new diſaſters in the courſe of the enſuing year.

The New-England colonies, my Lord, take the lead in all military matters. Your Lordſhip is too well acquainted with hiſtory, not to know, they chiefly owed their origin to the diſputes which involved the nation in all the calamities of a civil war. The firſt planters encountered innumerable

* Pennſylvania.

innumerable difficulties, and were long engaged in repeated wars with the Indian natives. Their deſcendants retain the martial proweſs and ſpirit of their anceſtors; and for wiſdom, loyalty, and an enterpriſing genius, are a people of renown. In theſe governments lies the main ſtrength of the Britiſh intereſt upon this continent. Beſides their above advantageous character, they are very conſiderable for their numbers. The Maſſachuſetts-Bay contains about 40,000 capable of arms. The militia of Connecticut is about 27,000. Rhode-Iſland and New-Hampſhire are not ſo populous. His majeſty's ſervice, therefore, rendered it neceſſary for the General, according to the plan of operations, to viſit his own government, in order to ſolicit the ſuccours, without which the expedition propoſed againſt Crown-Point muſt inevitably have failed. For this purpoſe he ſet out for New-York on the 21ſt of January; and, but for his preſence and ſolicitations at Boſton, no provincial troops would this year have entered the field. That colony was ſo extremely diſobliged at the conduct of General Johnſon, in neglecting to purſue his advantages, after the memorable rout of the French at Lake George, as to be in general averſe to a new campaign: and with the utmoſt difficulty did the general procure their concurrence in another expenſive attempt. There let us at preſent leave him, promoting the public ſervice of the colonies: and returning again to New-York, ſuffer me, at this inactive ſeaſon of the year, to entertain your Lordſhip with one or two inſtances of Lieut. Governor De Lancey's more private political feats.

Never was any man more impolitic than Governor Clinton. Had he kept the chief juſtice dependent on his favour, he would have governed his province with eaſe and tranquillity: but by granting him a new commiſſion for his office, *during good behaviour*, he ſet him at liberty to act at pleaſure: and in conſequence of this fatal error, the province was thrown into violent convulſions. Nothing, therefore, my Lord, could be more deſirable to his ſucceſſor, than to hold that gentleman under proper reſtraint. Sir Charles Hardy had this advantage: his office of chief juſtice, I am informed, became extinguiſhed the moment the government devolved upon him by the death of Sir Danvers

Danvers Oſborn. From the time of Sir Charles Hardy's arrival, Mr. De Lancey had impatiently expected a new commiſſion: but the governor neglecting the offer, to the aſtoniſhment of moſt in the province, he, notwithſtanding, ventured to reſume his ſeat on the bench in January term, when two felons were arraigned before him. This bold ſtroke at the prerogative, moſt men imagined, would have drawn down the reſentment of the new governor: and why it was paſſed by without obſervation, I muſt leave to your Lordſhip's conjectures. That De Lancey had, in reality, no right to the exerciſe of that office, has been ſtrongly inſiſted upon by gentlemen of the law, though in an extrajudicial manner. I pretend not myſelf to any knowledge in that intricate ſcience; but beg leave to preſent your Lordſhip with an opinion, relating to the point, contained in the following letter from a gentleman of the profeſſion to his friend in this city; with a copy of which I have been favoured.

"*Philadelphia*, 21 *Oct.* 1755.

"SIR,

"YOU ſay you are informed, that your Lieut. Governor deſigns to exerciſe his former office, in virtue of "the commiſſion iſſued by your late Governor Clinton. "I cannot think your information well grounded, becauſe "I am clearly of opinion, that office was extinguiſhed by "his acceptance of the Lieut. Governor's commiſſion: "and I conceive Mr. De Lancey will hardly venture to diſpute the matter with the crown. The main reaſon I go "upon is, that thoſe two offices are incompatible. To "make this plain to you, you muſt underſtand, that to "every office there are duties annexed. The ſame perſon "cannot exerciſe two offices inconſiſtent with one another. "One of them muſt therefore be loſt; becauſe, as every "office is *pro bono publico*, its uſe lies in the exerciſe of it: "and the inferior office is that which is loſt, becauſe it is "moſt for the public good, that the officer ſhould hold the "ſuperior office, as the law preſumes every man capable of "the office which the King, who is the fountain of offices "and honour, is pleaſed to confer upon him. Agreeable "to this, we find many reſolutions in our books: I'll mention

"tion one or two. A man cannot be foreſter and judge "*eo inſtanti*. Rolls Rep. 452, &c. Nor judge of the Com. "and King's bench *ſimul & ſemel*. Dyer's Caſe, 4 and 5 "Phil. and Mar. The firſt patent *is determined*, though the "ſecond was granted *pro illa vice*, and ſurrendered the next "day. Br. N. C. 5 Mar. Br. Commiſſions pl. 25.

"Nothing now remains but to ſhew, that the office of "chief juſtice and governor of your province are inconſiſt-"ent. To explain this, I muſt inform you, that your ſu-"preme court is a court of general juriſdiction, eſtabliſhed "by an ordinance of governor and council; claiming the "like power here in all pleas, civil and criminal, as fully as "they are taken cognizance of by the King's Bench and "Common Pleas in England. Superior to this, is the "Court of Governor and Council, a court inſtituted by one of his Majeſty's inſtructions to your governor. In vir-tue of this inſtruction, writs of error are returned from the ſupreme court, before the governor and council. The inconſiſtency, then, of the two offices becomes very ap-parent. By the inſtruction, the governor in the court above is a *ſine quo non*; and to ſuppoſe him at the ſame time judge in the court below, and muſt diſregard the abſurdity of the governor's ſending a writ to command himſelf; and of his juſtifying his judgment as chief juſtice to himſelf in council as governor; and yet be ex-cluded from a voice in the judgment above; which, nevertheleſs, cannot be given without him. You ſee then the incompatibility is much ſtronger, than if a man ſhould be judge both of the King's and Common Bench in England. There the other judges of B. R. might cor-rect the error in the Common Pleas; but here the courſe of public juſtice might be entirely ſtopped.

"If it ſhould be ſaid, his power was only ſuſpended, while in the chair of government; I anſwer with the obſervation before, that an office is a *duty*, as the very word itſelf implies: and I know of no ſleeping and not-to-be-exerciſed office. Every office is inſtituted for the public good: the officer is therefore obliged to exerciſe his duty; for, without that, he cannot ſerve the public: and to be *obliged to act*, and at the ſame time *obliged not to act*, is nonſenſe. It would be more ſpecious to ſay, the

"inſtruction

" inſtruction is no law, as your aſſemblies have often ſaid " in other caſes; but then, Sir, Mr. De Lancey, in obedi- " ence to it, has declined acting as judge ever ſince the death " of Sir Danvers Oſborn: and why has he (as I have been " informed) rejected a writ of error, becauſe, according to " this very inſtruction, the damages in demand did not ex- " ceed 300l. ſterling? Beſides, this court of Governor and " Council, I am told, has long exerciſed its power, under " this and former inſtructions to your governors of the " like tenor, without the leaſt oppoſition.

" The offices will further appear to be inconſiſtent, if you " reflect, that as governor he is alſo chancellor. The Court " of Chancery often reſtrains the power of the law courts: " and it is the ſpirit of every court to enlarge its own ju- " riſdiction. Upon both theſe accounts, the two offices " muſt inevitably claſh. I know that Knevet was former- " ly chief juſtice and chancellor: but the propriety of tha " double inveſtiture was never ſolemnly conſidered. I " was long ago, in the time of Edward III. There has bee " no inſtance of the like in later times; nor do I believ " it would be ſuffered. But the caſe is much ſtronge " here; and I cannot conceive, for the reaſons above, tha " your lieutenant governor will attempt to ſit as judge b " virtue of his old commiſſion. It is more probable h " will prevail on your governor, lately arrived, to gran " him a new patent. " I am," &c.

Perhaps, my Lord, no higher evidence can be aſſigned o a man's influence, than ſuch a bold invaſion of his Maje ty's prerogative. Mr. De Lancey was determined not t loſe an office, which he knew to be the grand ſource of hi popularity, and the main prop of his power: for, whoeve is chief juſtice of the province, unleſs a very novice, mu be the ſecond man in the government. Governor Hard made no oppoſition to this large ſtride of ambition: an the other, not long after, by his wonderful artifice, ſubject- ed him to his abſolute dominion. It was effected in the following manner: Your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to recol- lect, that Mr. De Lancey had the addreſs to prevail upon the aſſembly to ſend up a bill to the council, on the 4th of February, intituled, " *An act for the Payment of the Debts*

due

due from this Colony; and other purpoſes therein mentioned." By this, payments were to be made to many creditors of the government, *for ſervices done this colony*, without ſpecifying what thoſe ſervices were. The Lieut. Governor was to receive 3787l. 16s. and ſeveral other ſums were payable to his brother. It was in reality a bill for diſcharging the arrears due to the ordinary officers of the government. To render it the more palatable to the Governor, proviſion was made for paying him alſo large ſums for preſents to the Indians, and the expenſes of his voyage to Albany, after the French repulſe at Lake George. When it came up to the council, it obtained a majority only by one voice: and of theſe, my Lord, two gentlemen, beſides Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, were themſelves intereſted in the bill. They were the puiſne judges of the Supreme Court, Meſſrs. Horſemanden and Chambers, whoſe arrears of ſalary were now by the act to be diſcharged. Meſſrs. Colden, Alexander, and Smith looked upon it as a mean invaſion of the King's inſtructions, which, until they reſigned their ſeats at the council board, they were bound in honour to regard with ſacred punctuality. It was, beſides, evidently partial; no proviſion being made for other creditors, whoſe demands were indiſputable. They alſo conceived it derogatory to the dignity of that board to paſs an act, excluding themſelves from any knowledge of thoſe ſervices, for which the reſpective ſums were made payable. For theſe reaſons, among others, they oppoſed the bill; and prayed their diſſent might be entered, as a vindication of themſelves to his Majeſty. The Governor, to whom it was ſent up, detained it for farther conſideration, though he paſſed ſeveral other bills on the 19th of the month. This circumſtance, my Lord, could not but chagrin his Lieutenant, who had the bill much at heart, not only on account of the large ſums thereby payable to himſelf and brother, but becauſe the paſſing it into a law would be the fulleſt evidence of his aſcendancy over the Governor; and if he could bring him into diſgrace with the miniſtry, by leading him into a breach of inſtructions, it was plain he would have nothing to rely upon, but his own popularity. This was an important card, and to be ſkilfully played off. So indeed it was: and when I finiſh the ſtory, I am perſuaded your Lordſhip

Lordſhip will entertain no very mean opinion of American politicians. The ſpring was now advancing; and it became neceſſary to paſs a law for levying forces, not only to join the eaſtern colonies, on a new expedition againſt the French fortreſs at Crown-Point, but for the protection of our weſtern frontiers, in conjunction with Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey, which were become fields of blood, by the daily ravages of inhuman barbarians. The bill for this purpoſe originated with the aſſembly; and Mr. De Lancey, who was now cloſeting the members, was its principal conſtructor. When it came before the council, on the 28th of March, that board immediately objected to it, according to his expectations: and the Governor declared, that if the council approved, he ſhould himſelf give it a negative. According to the tenor of this bill, the forces deſigned for the weſtern expedition were to ſerve but forty days, when the province of New-Jerſey had ordained their quota to be diſbandable by Mr. Belcher: and Sir Charles Hardy inſiſted, that the like confidence ought to be repoſed in his judgment. The two houſes now engaged themſelves in a diſpute, at a time when, of all others, every contention ſhould have been avoided. Mr. Oliver De Lancey, appointed by the houſe to provide the ſupplies for the regiment deſigned as our quota towards the Crown-Point expedition, now gave orders to ſtop all farther preparations, an open rupture between the governor and aſſembly being daily expected. The members began freely to ſpeak againſt him. The council laboured to procure an alteration of the bill; but all to no purpoſe. The principal thing aimed at, was the paſſing of the debt bill: and a leading member in the houſe plainly intimated their deſigns to the Governor. Doubtleſs your Lordſhip will wonder he did not diſſolve them with indignation. Believe me, my Lord, it would have been a ſtep, at this time, extremely unadviſable. Forty days intermiſſion, between the teſt and return of the writ of ſummons for the election of repreſentatives, being required by law, the public exigencies were too preſſing to admit of any delay. Mr. De Lancey knew all his advatages: and that Sir Charles Hardy might be at no loſs to conjecture that the houſe was now acting at his beck, nor himſelf under the neceſſity of joining with the council

council againſt the bill, abſented himſelf from the conſultations of that board. The neighbouring colonies, in the mean time, were urging the diſpatch of our preparations for opening the campaign. Reduced at length by theſe perplexities, he was obliged to ſend for his lieutenant, and gave him his promiſe to paſs the favourite bill for payment of the public debts. The houſe then privately took back the quota-bill; and, after a few alterations, the council paſſed it on the 31ſt of March. To both of them Sir Charles gave his aſſent the following day: and they were enrolled among our laws. I leave this affair to your Lordſhip's own reflections; obſerving only, that from this period, the Lieutenant Governor's influence became more apparent than before; and that as it always was, ſo it will ever continue to be, his ruling paſſion, and the grand engine of his politics, to cruſh or control the King's governors in this province.

The plan of operations, concerted at New-York in December, was a few days after tranſmitted to Sir Thomas Robinſon, to be laid before his Majeſty, for the royal approbation*. Upon the arrival of the firſt veſſels from Europe in April following, we were ſurpriſed with theſe remarkable articles of intelligence: that the action at L. George had been magnified in England into an almoſt deciſive victory; that Mr. Johnſon was advanced to the dignity of a baronet, and 5000l. ſterling voted by the commons, as a farther reward for his great ſervices: that Eyres, his engineer, was raiſed to a majority; and Wraxal, his ſecretary, to the command of a company. To crown, in fine, the utmoſt wiſhes of his adverſaries, that Mr. Shirley's conduct having been entirely diſapproved, his Majeſty had been pleaſed to remove him from the command, and appoint the right hon. the Earl of Loudon general of all his forces in North-America. Than theſe particulars, nothing could have been more pleaſing to the New-York cabal, as they were ſhortly to reap the fruits of all thoſe calumnies, of which they had been the original

* Mr. Pownal importuned Mr. Shirley to be made the bearer of theſe diſpatches. The General very civilly thanked him for the offer of his ſervice; but choſe rather to confide in Major Rutherford and Capt. Stuats Morris. Mr. Pownal followed ſoon after them to England.

al authors. A change of the General at once gratified their revenge and ambition, and facilitated the execution of an affair earneſtly ſolicited, and greatly advancive of their intereſt.

I will not aſſert, that Mr. Shirley had yet received his Majeſty's orders with reſpect to the late plan of operations. I believe he had not, becauſe on the 7th of May he arrived at Albany, and continued his preparations for carrying that plan into execution, until the 25th of the month, when a council of war was there held, conſiſting of the following members :

His Excellency the GENERAL,
Lieut. Col. Gage, Lieut. Col. Burton, Major Chapman,
Major Sparks, Sir John St. Clair, John Montreſor, Eſq.
chief engineer.

Mr. Shirley laid before them the minutes of the congreſs in December, and acquainted them with the ſtate of affairs. With reſpect to the weſtern expedition, the naval force upon the lake conſiſted, he obſerved, of two veſſels of ten carriage guns each ; two row-gallies, each of ten ſwivels ; and that he had three months before iſſued orders for building three other veſſels, one of eighteen, another of ſixteen, and a third of twelve carriage guns. Beſides which, there would be 250 whale-boats upon the lake, each of them capable of containing ſixteen men. The land forces then at Oſwego, and on their march for preſerving a free communication between that place and Albany, were his own and Pepperell's regiments, with that raiſed and ſupported by the province of New-Jerſey, and the four independent companies of New-York. As there was a magazine of proviſions and ſtores at the Canajohary Falls, about thirty-five miles from Schenectady, his Excellency propoſed poſting there 100 men out of thoſe forces ; as many more at the German Flats, to ſecure another magazine, guard the portage, and convoy the proviſions through the Wood Creek : and as the fall near Oſwego occaſioned another ſmall portage, a fort was there alſo to be erected, for a garriſon of fifty men at leaſt. It was, my Lord, of the greateſt moment to keep open the communication between Albany and our fort on the lake ; his Excellency was therefore intent upon raiſing four companies of ſixty privates each,

each, to be employed in ſcouting along the paſſage, and haraſſing the French ſettlements between Frontenac and Montreal.

The General gave them alſo an account of the ſtrength of Oſwego, when he left it the laſt fall; adding, that he had ſent up Mr. M'Keller, the engineer in ſecond, and Mr. Sewer, a practitioner engineer, with orders to make ſuch additional works, as they ſhould think neceſſary for the ſecurity of that important poſt. And your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to take notice, that theſe orders were iſſued very early in March, before the Mohawk river was open; and that the engineers actually arrived at Oſwego in April. At theſe ſeveral garriſons were to be depoſited ſix months proviſions for 7000; and he obſerved to the council, that, for that purpoſe, 200 whaleboats and 500 batteaux had been diſpatched, ſince the firſt of April, from Schenectady. The remaining quantity would have been tranſported by the middle of July, had his deſigns been carried into execution.

As to the provincial expedition, he informed them, that the troops voted by the ſeveral colonies amounted to 8800 men, including the officers and garriſons at the forts Edward and William-Henry. One, or perhaps two hundred Indians might be expected to join them, beſides a company which his Excellency had raiſed, to haraſs the enemy upon lake Champlain, and procure intelligence of their motions in Canada; and three more, for the like ſervice, were intended to be choſen out of the whole force deſtined for Crown-Point.

About this time, one Rogers, of New-Hampſhire, captain of a ranging company, gave repeated demonſtrations of his activity in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point. He made many incurſions upon the enemy, fell on their ſcattered parties, and ſcarce ever returned to Fort William-Henry without ſcalps and priſoners. The General took particular notice of him; and he became ſingularly ſerviceable in procuring intelligence. By a cadet, whom he took on the 20th of May, we were informed, that the whole number of men at Fort St. Frederick, Ticonderoga, and at an advanced poſt, were 1100, compoſed of the regiments of Languedoc, the Queen's regiment, two companies of the colony

ny troops, and the militia. Beſides theſe, there were Indians; but their numbers uncertain. That at Ticonderoga the French had twelve pieces of ordnance mounted, and carriages preparing for an additional number; but that the retrenchment at the advanced poſt was without any cannon. Theſe troops wintered at Montreal and Chambly, and arrived at the ſouth end of the lake about the middle of April, being plentifully ſupplied with proviſions and military ſtores. Theſe intelligences the General laid before his council; and then obſerved, that the 50th and 51ſt regiments, the four independent companies, and the regiment of New-Jerſey, were ſcarce a third part of the number of troops deſigned by the general plan for the operations upon Lake Ontario: that the provincials were alſo not only deficient of the complement thought neceſſary at the congreſs, but even of the number voted by the provinces concerned in the enterpriſe againſt Crown-Point; and that it was impracticable, even with the junction of the 44th and 48th regiments, then at Albany, to carry on both the northern and weſtern expeditions at the ſame time: that he had no dependance upon the Indians of the Six Nations, Sir William Johnſon being unable to procure ſcouting parties; and that upon this account he propoſed raiſing four companies for that ſervice.

Your Lordſhip may hence obſerve, what reaſon the congreſs in December had for their opinion, that more troops were neceſſary for his Majeſty's ſervice in America. No reinforcements being yet arrived from England, for carrying the general plan into execution, the council were of unanimous opinion, that 1300 ought to be poſted at Oſwego, 50 at the Falls, 200 at the Oneida Carrying-Place, 150 at the German Flats, and as many more at the Canajoharry Falls. They adviſed, therefore, that the 50th and 51ſt, and the New-Jerſey regiments, the independents, and the North-Carolina provincials, (all which amounted to about 2000 men) ſhould be employed in that ſervice. The 44th and 48th regiments, with the colony troops, were thought ſufficient to reduce Crown-Point. Accordingly, they recommended their junction; adviſing, however, that the regulars ſhould continue for a time in their encampment at Albany. The ranging companies, propoſed by the General,

ral, were highly approved; and the raiſing of others ſtrongly recommended. They alſo concurred with him in ſentiment, that a road ought to be made from the German Flats to Oſwego; and declared, it appeared to them very neceſſary to ſtrengthen Fort Edward, and erect another at the South Bay. The former was a depoſit for ſtores, and at the concurrence of all the routes from Crown-Point to Albany. The latter would command the route taken by barron Dieſkau for his deſigned attack upon Fort Edward; a route through which incurſions were frequently made upon our northern frontier. A fort at the South Bay was conceived requiſite, to cover our convoys of proviſions for the northern expedition from the inſults of the enemy, who, in flying parties, infeſted the paſſage from Albany* to William-Henry. The propriety of this advice, my Lord, muſt be evident to every man of a tolerable acquaintance with the country; and theſe were the very ſentiments which the General repeatedly communicated to Sir William Johnſon, in his letters, after the action at Lake George; which were then ſlighted by the cabal, who ſtudiouſly oppoſed him in all his meaſures.

Thus I have ſhewn your Lordſhip the reaſons why the general plan continued to be unexecuted, till the ſitting of this laſt council of war. Mr. Shirley, however, in hopes of the arrival of the expected reinforcements, and loath to be diverted from his favourite deſigns upon Lake Ontario, continued to throw large quantities of proviſions and ſtores into Schenectady, and all the magazines between that place and Oſwego. This, it was ſuppoſed, was done to induce his ſucceſſor, from theſe ample ſupplies, to act upon this quarter; it being univerſally imagined, that Crown-Point was now become the main object of the miniſtry. Till the arrival of General Webb, on the 7th of June, this was only conjecture, and general report. The effects of the miſrepreſentations of American affairs in England, then became evident to all; for the ſtores, laid in at Schenectady, were now

* For the building of a fort at South Bay, preparations were making when Mr. Shirley reſigned the command of the army: but the work has ſince been neglected; and the paſſage from Fort Edward to our camp at William-Henry, infeſted all this ſummer, and many of our people cut off, as was foreſeen by this council.

now reconveyed to Albany, for the northern expedition; and freſh clamours excited againſt Mr. Shirley, for his ſupplies towards the weſtern operations. On the 15th of June, Major General Abercrombie landed at New-York; and ten days after, at Albany; where he immediately took upon himſelf the command of the army. Shirley continued there no longer than to deliver over to the new General the proper returns, and communicate ſuch information as appeared neceſſary, with reſpect to the preſent ſituation of affairs.

The whole force, of which General Abercrombie now took the command, conſiſted of the 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51ſt regiments, four independent companies, the New-Jerſey regiment, four companies raiſed by the province of North-Carolina, Otway's, and the Highland regiments,* and the provincial forces deſtined againſt Crown-Point.

Inſtructions had been given to Sir William Johnſon, to procure a large body of the Six Nations, to join in any attempt that might be made upon the Lake Ontario; and to engage 100 more for the aſſiſtance of the provincial army. To effect which, he was then holding a conference with the deputies of the Six Cantons at Onondaga, from whence he was to proceed immediately to Oſwego. Mr. Shirley had, beſides, raiſed a company of Indians from Stockbridge, to be employed in ranging the woods between Fort William-Henry and Montreal: and that his Majeſty's ſervice upon Lake Ontario might be free from the obſtructions, by which it had been the year before greatly embarraſſed, he had enliſted 40 companies of batteau-men, each of 50 men, a captain and an aſſiſtant, for tranſporting ſtores and proviſions to Oſwego. Theſe were put under the direction of Captain Bradſtreet, an active, vigilant officer, inured to the hardſhips to which that ſervice inevitably expoſed him. This, though one of the moſt judicious meaſures that could have been taken, was made the ſubject of low invective. The faction at New-York laboured to repreſent it as a project to involve the Crown in a needleſs expenſe: but time has given the fulleſt evidence of the propriety of this ſtep; and *proper* it will appear to your

* Theſe two regiments arrived with him, and conſiſted of about 900 men.

your Lordſhip, before the concluſion of this letter. General Shirley wiſely foreſaw, that the Indians of the Six Nations, whatever influence over them Sir William Johnſon might pretend, could not be engaged even to protect the King's troops in the paſſage through their own country; and that unleſs the communication was kept open to Oſwego, nothing could be effected upon the Lake, nor the garriſon itſelf preſerved from falling into the hands of the enemy. Accordingly, no ſooner did the ſpring open, than a little blockaded poſt, with twenty-five men, at the Carrying-Place, in the very center of the Oneida country, was cut off; the Oneidas themſelves being unqueſtionably concerned in the maſſacre. Nothing could ſecure us againſt the repetition of theſe inſults, but paſſing through the country with large ſquadrons of batteaux: and to facilitate the tranſportation, Mr. Shirley, who canvaſſed every expedient for the preſervation of Oſwego, employed a working party of eighty men, under a director, to remove the obſtructions in the Wood-Creek; by this means, the portage from the Mohawk River, acroſs the great Carrying-Place, was reduced from eight miles to one. Nor did he omit obſerving to his ſucceſſor, that an attempt upon Niagara was of the laſt importance; the loſs or preſervation of our Indians depending upon the ſucceſs of the operations on Lake Ontario.

Relative to the Crown-Point expedition, he recommended the march of part of the army, in a new-diſcovered route, on the weſt ſide of Lake George, to the enemy's advanced works, five miles ſhort of Ticonderoga; which being carried, the heavy artillery and ſtores might be there landed, and tranſported through a road to Ticonderoga and Fort Frederick: and after the reduction of thoſe forteſſes, he adviſed General Abercrombie immediately to conſtruct armed veſſels, to ſecure the command of Lake Champlain.

Your Lordſhip may remember, that an attempt was propoſed, at the congreſs in December, againſt Fort Du Queſne, with an army of 3000 provincials. Governor Sharpe was to have commanded in that enterpriſe; but there remained now no hopes of its proſecution. Virginia choſe to be entirely upon the defenſive. Maryland was wholly

wholly inactive; her frontier being covered by the adjoining provinces: and as to Pennſylvania, ſhe raiſed indeed 1500 men, but only with a view to protect her outfarms; nor probably would thus far have conſulted her own ſafety, but for the daily murders and horrid cruelties perpetrated upon her borders.

With reſpect to the circumſtances of Indian affairs to the northward: While Mr. Shirley was at Oſwego, and upon his return, as I before obſerved to your Lordſhip, he propoſed to the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas, the erection of ſmall forts, for the protection of their reſpective caſtles. The two laſt tribes conſented; deſiring alſo, that the forts might be mounted with cannon: and the Tuſcoraras afterwards ſent deputies to him, with the like requeſt. The Senecas and Cayugas had alſo lately ſignified their acquieſcence to Sir William Johnſon; and the General tranſmitted him the plan of a fort, directing the proſecution of the work with all poſſible diſpatch, as a moſt effectual means to ſecure the Indian country to his Majeſty.

Before Mr. Shirley left Oſwego the laſt year, he propoſed to the Six Nations, their convening this ſummer, in a grand council there, the Indians on the north ſide of Lake Ontario, and round Lake Erie, to conſult their common intereſt, and maintain a correſpondence by annual councils at Oſwego. And to draw off the latter from their attachment to the French, recommended to the Six Nations their concurrence, in opening a free trade with the foreign Indians, at the entrance of the Onondaga river, upon terms more advantageous to all the Indians than any hitherto purſued. This ſpring, Sir William Johnſon informed his Excellency, that the Six Nations were extremely well pleaſed with the projects relating both to the trade at Oſwego, and the conſtruction of forts in their cantons. To accelerate the latter, the General ſupplied him with 5000l. ſterling, in addition to 5000l. advanced to him by General Braddock: and yet, my Lord, he was conſtrained to confeſs, in a ſubſequent letter,* that, unleſs his Excellency could engage ſeveral companies of rangers, he deſpaired of the preſervation even of a free paſſage through their country: and whether he has, to this day, built a ſingle fort,

* May 10, 1756.

as

as the General propoſed, I have not been able, after much inquiry, to diſcover.

Equally unpromiſing was the ſituation of our affairs with the ſouthern Indians. Some hopes, indeed, were entertained of the fidelity of the Cherokees, a people warlike and powerful; in whoſe territories the Virginians were erecting a fortreſs. The Shawaneſe, nevertheleſs, continued their irruptions into that province: and Governor Dinwiddie was obliged to draft the militia, to oppoſe their progreſs, and preſerve the town of Wincheſter. Theſe Indians alſo, with the Suſquehannas and Delawares, committed frequent hoſtilities upon the Pennſylvanians. Governor Morris, for the protection of the country, carried a line of forts on the weſt ſide of the Kittatiny mountains, all along the extended frontier of that colony, from Delaware to the river Potowmac. The government of New-Jerſey proceeded even to declare war againſt the Delaware Indians; and would have penetrated into their ſettlements, had not aſſurances been ſent by Sir William Johnſon from the council at Onondaga, that the Delawares and Shawaneſe, in obedience to the Six Nations, were under renewed and poſitive engagements to refrain from any farther outrages upon the ſouthern frontiers. If any ſuch promiſes were really made, it is certain they were immediately broken, many of our inhabitants having ſince been murdered and captivated by the ſavages of thoſe very tribes. Whence we may fairly conclude, that either the Six Nations connived at theſe infractions of their commands, or that their ancient ſovereignty is become the contempt of their tributaries. In fact, my Lord, the matter is ſtill worſe. Too much reaſon is there to believe the truth of both theſe alternatives.

I informed your Lordſhip, that Sir William Johnſon was ordered to proceed from Onondaga to Oſwego, with as many Indians as could be perſuaded to march with him, not only for the more effectual preſervation of that poſt, but to execute the plan which Gen. Shirley had concerted, for the eſtabliſhment of an annual council there, with thoſe Indians who had been long in the French intereſt, and ſeemed ready to liſten to propoſals for an alliance with us. It was expedient, my Lord, that he ſhould have complied with theſe inſtructions; nay, it was his duty; but no

ſooner was he acquainted with Mr. Shirley's reſignation of the command of the army, than he returned from Onondaga to Albany, at the head of about ſixty Indians, leaving Capt. Patten, with his company of grenadiers, to wander through a forlorn wilderneſs, in ſearch of Oſwego. Whether this inſtance of his conduct was not intended to raiſe his reputation with the new General, as a leading man among the Indians, I leave to your Lordſhip's conjecture. By arts like theſe, he acquired his Indian fame: and the influence of the faction at New-York ſo powerfully ſuſtained it, that few perſons doubted his ability to procure ſeveral hundred warriors for our aſſiſtance, though every day exhibited freſh proofs of their melancholy defection. Beſides the deſtruction of our poſt in the very country of the Oneidas, mentioned before, the enemy infeſted the parts about Oſwego, and the whole paſſage thither, without the leaſt oppoſition from the Six Nations. Alarms, indeed, were frequently given of the approach of their flying parties; and it was obſervable, that Sir William Johnſon, on thoſe occaſions, as Colonel of the county, raiſed the militia of Albany, and proceeded to the ſpot; though every man, acquainted with Indians, well knows, that, of all places, theſe are the moſt unlikely for finding the enemy. By ſuch ſham expeditions have our northern inhabitants been impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed: nor could they anſwer any other end, than to raiſe a bruit through the colonies; and, with parade and oſtentation, ſet the gazetteers upon ſounding his applauſe. Even in theſe wild romantic excurſions, but few Indians attended him: and yet, if we credit our news-writers, hundreds were in his train.

Mr. Shirley had ſcarce reſigned the command to Major-General Abercrombie, when the good effect of the batteau ſervice became ſo irreſiſtibly evident, that his very enemies recollected their ungrounded calumnies with ſhame and confuſion. I allude, my Lord, to the action between the French and our batteau-men, on the 3d of July. Senſible of the importance of Oſwego, the enemy collected themſelves, about the latter end of May, in a large body, not many miles to the eaſtward of that garriſon; from whence detachments were perpetually ſent out to fall upon our workmen, and infeſt the paſſage through the Onondaga River.—

River. Capt. Bradſtreet, who had the direction of the batteaux, was appriſed that ſmall parties lay in ambuſh, waiting a favourable opportunity to attack him. Accordingly, when he left Oſwego, he ordered the ſeveral diviſions to proceed as near each other as poſſible: but ſo numerous and irregular a body could not, without difficulty, be kept to any tolerable order. He was at the head of about 300 batteau-men, in the firſt diviſion, upon his return to Schenectady, and about nine miles from Oſwego, when the enemy, who were 700 ſtrong, roſe from their ambuſcade, and fired upon his front. Near the place of attack, was a ſmall iſland, by which the enemy might eaſily have forded the river. Bradſtreet, in an inſtant, landed upon the iſland, to prevent being incloſed between two fires; and with ſix men maintained his poſſeſſion, bravely repelling twenty of the enemy, who attempted to ſeize that advantageous poſt. He was then reinforced with ſix others; and even compelled a ſecond party of forty French to give way. Enraged at this ſhameful diſappointment, the enemy, to the number of ſeventy men, thought proper to make a third attempt; but the batteau-men, who did not exceed twenty, with redoubled bravery, ſtill kept their ground, and again forced their adverſaries to retire. During theſe ſkirmiſhes, which laſted near an hour, the batteau-men in the rear landed, without loſs or confuſion, upon the ſouth ſide of the river. Four hundred of the enemy now advanced up the north ſide of the ſtream, intending to ford it about a mile higher, and ſurround us. Bradſtreet, aware of the deſign, left the iſland, and with two hundred men marched on the other ſide to oppoſe them. But they had actually forded over before he came up, and poſted themſelves in a ſwamp. Dr. Kirkland, with the ſecond diviſion of batteaux, was now advancing to his aſſiſtance; but Bradſtreet ordered him, and Capt. Butler, who commanded the third diviſion, to keep their poſts, and cover the batteaux in the rear. Being arrived at the ſwamp, an engagement enſued, in the Indian manner of fighting, and continued above an hour, with dubious ſucceſs. Bradſtreet, at length, animating his men, ruſhed into the thicket through twice his number, and gallantly puſhed them into the river, where many of them periſhed. Another attempt was made, in the mean time,

time, to ford the river a little higher; but thoſe being alſo repulſed, the whole party was entirely routed and diſperſed.

Juſt after the defeat, Capt. Patten, with his grenadiers from Onondaga, fell in with our batteaux; and the next morning a reinforcement of 200 men came up from the garriſon; and but for the exceſſive rains, which began ſoon after the action, and continued all the next day, theſe brave batteau-men would probably have cut off the whole party. Had Sir William Johnſon, as was expected, accompanied Capt. Patten to Oſwego, with the Indians from Onondaga, Bradſtreet might have made immediate purſuit, and many of the enemy muſt have been overtaken: but this pacific plenipotentiary was then haſtening to Albany (a ſafe ſituation) with the important minutes of his late conference: a conference full of affectionate Indian ſpeeches, and large promiſes of their aſſiſtance; when ſcarce a man of them could be prevailed upon to turn out of his hut for the defence of the common cauſe. Bradſtreet had but three Indians of the Six Nations with him at this attack. Of theſe, one took to his heels; a ſecond fought bravely; but the third went over to the enemy, and aſſiſted in pointing out our officers. In theſe ſeveral actions we had about 30 men killed and wounded. How many of the French were ſlain, is not certainly known; though it is generally ſaid, they loſt about 120. Eighty arms were brought to Schenectady; and about 70 men found in the woods, and carried to Oſwego. The French fled in the utmoſt diſorder: and ſome of their regular ſoldiers, being ſtrangers to the country, got bewildered in the deſart, and periſhed for want of ſuſtenance.

Bradſtreet arrived at Schenectady on the 11th of July; and the next day acquainted General Abercrombie, at Albany, of the ſtate of Oſwego: That he learnt from his priſoners, the French were preparing to attack it, having 1200 men for that purpoſe encamped not far from the eaſternmoſt fort. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, orders were iſſued to Major-General Webb, to hold himſelf in readineſs to march for its defence with the 44th regiment. My Lord, Mr. Shirley had, ſeveral days before,* adviſed General

* On the 26th of June, the day after he was ſuperſeded.

General Abercrombie to reinforce that garriſon with two battalions† at leaſt: and they might have marched immediately, as Bradſtreet was ready to convoy the troops, and every magazine, along the paſſage, plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. But not to anticipate my ſtory;

Mr. Shirley arrived at New-York on the 4th of July, and waited the arrival of my Lord Loudon, who landed there on the 23d of that month, with Mr. Pownal in his train: but in what character the latter returned a ſecond time from England, was a ſubject of doubtful conjecture. His Lordſhip, regardleſs of his eaſe, and the fatigues of a tedious voyage, tarried there but three days; and on the 29th of July reached his head-quarters at Albany, when he took upon himſelf the command of the army.

The garriſon of Oſwego conſiſted now of 1400 men, and about 300 workmen and ſailors. Four hundred and eighty-five were poſted, in ſmall parties, between that place and Burnet's Field, to maintain an open paſſage through the country of the Six Nations. The 44th and 48th regiments at Albany and Schenectady, with the Britiſh troops juſt arrived, conſiſted now of 2600 men; and the provincials, under the command of General Winſlow, were about 7000, and ready to march from Fort William-Henry. Of the naval force of Oſwego, I have already given your Lordſhip an account: and as to the ſtrength of the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, according to the lateſt intelligence obtained by Capt. Rogers, they did not exceed 3000 men.

From his Lordſhip's known abilities for war, the colonies were in great hopes, that, notwithſtanding the delay of the Britiſh reinforcements, ſome coup d'eclat would very ſpeedily be ſtruck at Crown-Point. But alas! while we were intent upon this favourite deſign, the enemy were bending their main force, not to oppoſe us at Ticonderoga, but to ſecure what was to them a matter of much more importance, I mean the excluſive dominion of the great Lakes. Accordingly, they laid ſiege to Oſwego; and, after

† Such a reinforcement could eaſily have been ſpared for that purpoſe, Otway's and the Highland regiment being now landed at Albany. And that this neceſſary ſtep might not be obſtructed, General Shirley had, before their arrival, diſpatched an expreſs to Oſwego, ordering Bradſtreet to quicken his return to Schenectady.

ter two or three days conteſt, obliged the garriſon, on the 14th of Auguſt, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. This melancholy account was firſt brought to Albany by ſeveral ſoldiers, ſome of whom had formerly deſerted the French ſervice; and remained many days unconfirmed, till the arrival of two ſailors, who made their eſcape after the reduction of the forts. An univerſal ſhock was now given to the whole continent: and to increaſe our diſtreſs, the Indians reported, that the whole garriſon was put to the ſword, and the dead bodies of our countrymen denied even the ſacred rite of ſepulture. But this, by ſubſequent advices, was contradicted: and the ſpies, diſpatched for obſervation, inform us, that the works are entirely demoliſhed, and the enemy departed. In what manner, and by what numbers, it was taken, or upon what terms ſurrendered, I cannot give your Lordſhip any ſatisfactory account. How many were killed on either ſide is alſo unknown; though certain it is, that Lieut. Col. Mercer, the commanding officer, is among the ſlain.

It is much to be wiſhed, my Lord, that Mr. Shirley's advice to General Abercrombie had been followed: and equally to be regretted, that Sir William Johnſon returned with ſuch precipitation from Onondaga to Albany. Nor ought the diſcharge of 400 batteau-men, after Bradſtreet's return, to paſs without ſome remark. They arrived at Schenectady, as I obſerved before, on the 11th of July; and methinks the recent proofs of their courage, and the account they gave of the ſtrength and deſigns of the enemy, might have been a ſufficient antidote againſt the poiſon of that council for their diſcharge; which was unqueſtionably deſigned by Mr. Shirley's enemies for throwing an odium on his meaſures. To the ſame influence, my Lord, it was undoubtedly owing, that General Webb's march, with the 44th regiment, from Schenectady, was delayed till the 12th of Auguſt, but two days before the garriſon was actually ſurrendered. He had proceeded no farther than Burnet's Field, with his regiment of 900 men, and the remaining 800 batteau-men, when the deſerters brought him the news of the ſiege. Upon the receipt of which, he made a forced march to the Oneida Carrying-Place; where he immediately

mediately felled trees into the Wood Creek, to prevent the approach of the enemy.*

Theſe, my Lord, were great overſights: but the loſs of Oſwego muſt principally be aſcribed to a more diſtant cauſe, to a junto, who have all along embarraſſed every part of his Majeſty's ſervice on the Lake Ontario. By their miſrepreſentations, the public has been drawn into a dependence upon the Six Nations, merely to exalt Sir William Johnſon: and that nothing might be wanting to procure a change in the command of the army, and deſtroy all confidence in Shirley's judgment, Oſwego, the great object of his attention, has been ſlighted as an uneſſential poſt; and the reduction of St. Frederick repreſented as a point of far ſuperior moment.

My Lord, by theſe intrigues our country bleeds. Oſwego is loſt; loſt, perhaps, for ever, with the naval armament, above ſixty pieces of ordnance, and a rich ſupply of ſtores and proviſions, laid in at a vaſt expenſe, for ſeveral thouſand men, during the whole campaign. Would to God this was all, and we had nothing worſe to apprehend! Our fur trade, which has long been the principal object of the national attention, and the ſupport of our frontier city of Albany, is at an end. The French can now, with the utmoſt facility, ſecure the inland country, and confine us to the very brinks of the ocean: a free communication is opened between Canada and Louiſiana; and all our intercourſe with the Indians totally reſcinded. The enemy, on the other hand, may, without oppoſition or reſtraint, render theſe innumerable tribes of ſavages their allies and dependants. The Six Nations are more wavering than ever: and ſhould they no longer think it expedient to preſerve their neutrality, the whole continent muſt inevitably become a field of blood. Whatever may be thought of theſe colonies, which of late have been magnified

* The French were equally apprehenſive of his advancing towards them, or of our attempting to rebuild Oſwego: and very prudently improving the preſent advantage, began where General Webb left off, and continued the obſtruction quite down to the entrance into the Oneida Lake; which renders it impoſſible to paſs through the Wood Creek, 40 miles in length. General Webb, not long after, abandoned the Carrying-Place, after burning down the forts, much to the diſſatisfaction of the Indians.

nified for their numbers and opulence, I do aſſure your Lordſhip, that a ſhort war will effectually exhauſt them. Their ſettlements are ſcattered; their frontiers extenſive; the inhabitants but few, generally in very moderate circumſtances, and ſtill luxurious, and without reſources. The irruption of a few Indians into Pennſylvania had already occaſioned the loſs of ſeveral hundred ſouls, and the deſolation of near two thouſand farms. The frontiers of the neighbouring colonies are equally defenceleſs; and the power of the native ſavages, at preſent in the French intereſt, is of itſelf ſufficient, by ſlow, but inevitable means, to reduce us to extreme beggary and diſtreſs.

Thus, my Lord, I have finiſhed the relation of what has hitherto been tranſacted in America. I have not only preſented you with a ſeries of the moſt intereſting events, but brought your Lordſhip acquainted with the characters and deſigns of the principal agents in our political affairs. If I have erred, I am perſuaded it is not in any article of importance, nor purpoſely in the minuteſt. Every line of this letter hath been penned with the moſt ſacred veneration for truth, and a mind equally unbiaſſed by reſentment or affection. For obtaining an intimate acquaintance with the matters rehearſed, few in the colonies have had ſuperior advantages: nor in collecting proper materials, has any one been more aſſiduous. Add to this, that I had no other intereſt in the public meaſures, than the intereſt of every man on the continent. I am unconnected with all parties; neither enjoying any poſt myſelf, nor ſtanding in the leaſt relation to a ſingle officer in the army. The love of my country was the ſole ſpring of my curioſity; and ſo far, indeed, I was not an unconcerned ſpectator of the public tranſactions. If I have made honourable mention of General Shirley, it was owing to my approbation of his ſchemes, as conducive to the common weal of the Britiſh plantations: and if my judgment was in this regard erroneous, I have the pleaſure to find myſelf in very reſpectable company. Except New-York, or rather a prevailing faction there, all the colonies hold him in very high eſteem. Some have made public declarations of their ſenſe of his great merit; and that too, at a time when he appeared deſcending from his meridian of glory.

glory. But he needed no other than the teſtimonials of his own province; for he, my Lord, whoſe conduct is approved by the people of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, muſt be diſtinguiſhed both for his abilities and his virtue. They are too numerous and wiſe to be deceived, too free and independent to be driven. An undue influence can never be obtained by the Governor of a colony, who has neither power nor places to beſtow. Their aſſemblies are annual; the members elected by ballot, in number near two hundred. The council, or middle eſtate, choſen yearly by the aſſembly: and as all the offices are elective, not a man in the province is dependent on the ſmiles or the frowns of the King's repreſentative: and yet ſo wiſe, free, and loyal a people have approved his judgment; confided in his integrity; teſtified in his favour; and publicly lamented his departure from the continent. I would by no means, my Lord, be underſtood, by theſe favourable ſentiments of Shirley, to diſparage his noble ſucceſſor in the command. He yet has not, at leaſt he deſerves not to have, a ſingle enemy amongſt us: and I hope it will ſerve the purpoſes of no man to be his enemy. I could only have wiſhed, that, at this critical juncture, a gentleman ſo thoroughly verſed in American affairs, had been continued in America for his Lordſhip's aſſiſtance. We have to contend with a ſubtle, enterpriſing foe; a foe, rapacious, martial, and bloody, committing murders, rather than waging war. Though the French colony contains, perhaps, not 30,000 men capable to bear arms; yet theſe are all under the deſpotic command and ſole direction of their Governor-General; and experience teaches us, that, in ſpite of our navy, they may be annually reinforced. The ſtrength of our colonies, on the other hand, is divided; and the concurrence of all neceſſary both for ſupplies of men and money. Jealous are they of each other; ſome ill conſtituted; others ſhaken with inteſtine diviſions, and, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, parſimonious even to prodigality. Our aſſemblies are diffident of their Governors; Governors deſpiſe their aſſemblies, and both mutually miſrepreſent each other to the Court of Great-Britain. Military meaſures demand ſecrecy and diſpatch: but while the colonies remain divided, and nothing can be tranſacted but

with their univerſal aſſent, it is impoſſible to maintain the one, or proceed with the other. Without a general conſtitution for warlike operations, we can neither plan nor execute. We have a common intereſt, and muſt have a common council; *one head* and *one purſe*. The French ſervice is unexpoſed to thoſe embarraſſments; and hence they project without diſcovery; and we ſcarce collect their deſigns, before we are attacked and defeated. Hitherto they have proſecuted the war with ſuperior advantage; and yet the militia of the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay alone, undoubtedly exceeds, by ſome thouſands, all the troops of Canada. Since the commencement of the preſent hoſtilities, his Majeſty has loſt above 3000 loyal ſubjects: and as all the Indians are at the devotion of the French, and Oſwego is now loſt, many thouſand farms, before the opening of the next ſpring, will probably be abandoned; and the interior ſettlements deluged with the innocent blood of all ages and ſexes. Indeed, my Lord, it is not beneath the moſt elevated ſtation, to indulge the benevolent feelings of humanity; nor, retiring awhile from the pomp and gaiety that ſurrounds you, to ſhed a pitying tear over families inhumanly bereft of their ſubſtance, or more inhumanly ſlaughtered in their beds. It is a celebrated ſaying, and does honour to human nature, "Homo ſum, et nihil humanum a me alienum puto."

What the preſent or the next campaign will bring forth is known only to the Omniſcient Governor of the univerſe. The colonies are nearly exhauſted, and their funds already anticipated by expenſive, unexecuted projects: and whether they will ſtill continue their efforts, or reſign to liſtleſs deſpair, is uncertain. I fear the worſt; and yet you know, my Lord, I am not of a melancholy caſt. There is too much reaſon for general concern: and I venture to predict, what every judicious perſon foreſees, that unleſs ſome ſucceſsful blow is ſtruck, and ſpeedily ſtruck, at the power of France, Britain muſt inevitably loſe her poſſeſſions in America: An event, my Lord, of the moſt tremendous conſequence to us, to you, to the Proteſtant religion, to the peace of Europe; yes, and to the peace and happineſs of all mankind.

Hitherto we have waſted our ſtrength in lopping off branches,

branches, when the axe ſhould have been laid to the root of the tree. Canada, my Lord, Canada muſt be demoliſhed. Delenda eſt Carthago, or we are undone. Strength ſufficient have we left, with proper aſſiſtance, for a deciſive ſtruggle: but a lingering conſumption will infallibly enervate and deſtroy. France has been, ever can, and will be annually, throwing over freſh troops into her colony, in defiance of our great maritime force: and ſhould peace enſue, even before our ruin is completed, what will be the ſtate of theſe provinces upon the next rupture between the two crowns, when the frontier country is filled with our enemies? As you therefore value, my noble Lord, the cauſe of Liberty; the glory of the Britiſh name; the honour and dignity of the beſt of Kings; and the preſervation of theſe colonies from bloody carnage and total ruin; exert, I beſeech you, exert your influence, to extirpate this brood of French ſavages from the face of the continent. In a ſcheme ſo deciſive, and in no other, will the provinces heartily unite; and if well concerted, and our unfortified ſea-coaſts at the ſame time ſufficiently protected, it will doubtleſs ſucceed; humble the pride of France; and cloſe the preſent war with a laſting and honourable peace.

I am, my LORD,
with the profoundeſt reſpect,
your Lordſhip's moſt obliged
and obedient ſervant.

NEW-YORK, *Sept.* 20, 1756.

A DESCRIPTION OF WISCASSET, AND OF THE RIVER SHEEPSCOT. BY REV. ALDEN BRADFORD, MINISTER AT WISCASSET, S. H. S.

JUDGE Sullivan, in his Hiſtory of the Diſtrict of Maine, Dr. Morſe, in his Gazetteer and Geography, and the Duc de Liancourt, in his volume of travels through the United States and Canada, have given ſome account of Wiſcaſſet. But they are very partial, and in ſome inſtances erroneous in their ſtatements; and a particular and accurate deſcription of this place and river, though conſiderably celebrated for the nautical enterpriſe of the inhabitants,

itants, and for its great advantages with reſpect to navigation, has never yet been publiſhed.

Wiſcaſſet is ſituated on the weſtern branch of Sheepſcot river, about twenty miles from the iſland of Seguin;* which lies two miles off the neck, or point of land that ſeparates the entrances into the rivers Kennebec and Sheepſcot. The mouth of Kennebec is very narrow; only about half a mile; and the current exceedingly rapid. But the entrance into Sheepſcot, for ſeven or eight miles above Seguin, preſents the appearance of a large bay. The width gradually leſſens. But even at the diſtance from its mouth, juſt mentioned, it is two miles and upwards. Five miles below Wiſcaſſet, the river becomes much more confined, and the banks are high. In ſome places, it is little more than half a mile. The water is very deep, generally from fifteen to twenty fathoms.

In one place, a mile below Wiſcaſſet, where the river is only about one hundred rods wide, there are not more than eleven fathoms. There is not leſs water in any place in the river, below this ſettlement: and it is navigable for the largeſt ſhips with perfect ſafety, as high as this place. In the year 1775, two Britiſh men of war came up the river oppoſite the town. And merchant ſhips of more than five hundred tons are owned here; which lay afloat at low water, when loaded, at ſome of the wharves.

Againſt the compact part of the town, and for a ſhort diſtance above and below, the river is nearly a mile wide. The navigation is rather difficult for large veſſels above this place. But thoſe of an hundred tons may ſafely aſcend about four miles higher up the river, to New-Caſtle. Here is a fall of water, which prevents any other craft than boats to proceed farther into the country. The tide-water continues yet five miles higher, where the river is very ſmall, and fit only for the buſineſs of mills; ſeveral of which are here advantageouſly ſituated.

Over the river, half a mile above the fall, there is a toll bridge, built in 1795, which is ſix hundred feet in length.

The land, where is the compact and mercantile part of the town, approaches to a point; or, is rather two ſides of a parallellogram; the longeſt of which is the bank of the river.

* This iſland is in lat. 43. 52. long. 68.

river, lying about N. by E. and S. by W.; and the ſhorteſt ſide, the margin of a ſmall bay, or inlet, which, on the ſouth of the ſettlement, encroaches on the main about one hundred and forty rods, for the diſtance of three fourths of a mile.

The courſe of the river, from its mouth, both above and below Wiſcaſſet, is nearly N. by E. But in ſome places, for ſhort diſtances, it varies from this direction. A little below Wiſcaſſet point, it is diverted from its general courſe to a N. W. one, where the bed of the river is narrow; but ſoon again continues its uſual direction.

On the weſt ſide of Sheepſcot river, near its mouth, is Parker's iſland. This is in Georgetown; and extends a few miles, when the iſland of Jeremyſquam continues to bound this ſhore of the river, within a mile of Wiſcaſſet point. This iſland extends about twelve miles in length, and is in ſome places a mile and a half; but generally from one to half a mile wide. The weſtern ſide of this iſland is ſeparated from the ſouthern part of Wiſcaſſet, and from a part of Woolwich, (which is adjoining Wiſcaſſet on the S. W.) by a croſs river running from Sheepſcot, and falling into the Kennebec oppoſite to Bath, about eight miles from its mouth. This croſs river meets the Sheepſcot about a mile ſouth of Wiſcaſſet point, where the courſe of this latter river, for a ſhort diſtance, makes a right angle with its general direction; and thus a bay is formed of about two miles by one; which is very convenient and pleaſant.

The croſs river communicating with Kennebec, is a great advantage to Wiſcaſſet. Lumber of all kinds is brought here from various parts of the Kennebec, and from Amariſcoggin. Veſſels of ſeventy and eighty tons paſs through this croſs river loaded. And a new light ſhip of 400 tons has been carried through here, by taking advantage of the tide and current, which, in ſome places, where the river is narrow, is very rapid.

Beſide the great depth, and the comparative ſtilneſs of the water in Sheepſcot, there is another advantage for navigation, which it has over moſt other rivers in the Diſtrict of Maine: It is ſeldom obſtructed by ice in the coldeſt and longeſt winters. It has ſometimes been known to be frozen,

frozen, for one or two days, about half the diſtance from the Point, where is the loweſt wharf, to the narrows; that is, half a mile. But even then, the ice was eaſily removed. And below this, it never freezes. Only once in ſix years, though there have been ſeveral very ſevere winters in this period, has the river been frozen as low as the Point, and then it continued only about twenty-four hours. A little higher, at the moſt northern wharves, the ice is often entirely acroſs the river, and ſometimes continues ſeveral days.

The water here flows and ebbs from ten to fifteen feet; generally about twelve; which is nearly the ſame as at Boſton. And it is remarkable, that at Portſmouth, Portland, and other places between this and Boſton, the tide flows leſs than in theſe two harbours.

There are ten conſiderable wharves in this place, one of which is 550 feet in length. It is about eighty rods higher up the river than that at the Point, which is adjoining the channel of the river. The long wharf alſo runs off to the edge of the channel; ſo that very large veſſels, laden, are afleet at theſe, when the water is the loweſt.

The compact part of the town conſiſts of about one hundred and thirty dwelling-houſes; ſome of which are large and elegant. The ſtores are numerous; and ſome of them ſpacious, and ornamental to the town. There are four ſtreets running parallel with the river, diſtant from one another about twelve rods. Theſe are interſected at right angles, about eighty rods north of the Point, by a ſtreet 140 feet wide, paſſing down a gentle deſcent by the meeting and court houſes, (which are handſome buildings,) in almoſt a ſtraight courſe to the head of the long wharf. This is the main ſtreet leading into the village from the W. and N. W. The ſtreet leading out of town to the eaſtward is the continuation of the third, which is parallel with the river. It leaves the main ſtreet about fifty rods from the river, and its courſe is ſtraight for three quarters of a mile, when it winds to the N. E.

On the eaſt ſide of the river, oppoſite to Wiſcaſſet, is the town of Edgecombe. The iſland of Jeremyſquam, which lies on the weſt ſide of the Sheepſcot below Wiſcaſſet, and as high up as the narrows, before mentioned, belongs

longs to this town, and not to Woolwich, as Judge Sullivan aſſerts in his Hiſtory of Maine.

What is now Pownalborough, (for Wiſcaſſet* is the Indian name of the Point only, though the village is generally known by this name,) is bounded N. and N. by E. by New-Milford, which was incorporated in 1793: It was before called the north pariſh of Pownalborough: On the N. W. by Dreſden, lying on the eaſtern bank of Kennebec, which was ſet off from this town at the ſame time with New-Milford: On the W. and S. W. it is ſeparated from Woolwich by a ſmall ſtream called Monſeag, up which the tide flows ſome diſtance, from the croſs river, leading into Kennebec: And the water of this croſs river waſhes the ſouth part of Pownalborough.

The town extends nearly eight miles from S. by W. to N. by E.; and is four miles in the oppoſite directions. It contains about three hundred and fifty families, and two thouſand inhabitants; two thirds of which are in the village at the Point. Nearly half the town is cleared; and there are ſome very good farms. But the land in general is too clayey to be profitable for tilling. For graſs, it is very good.

A great part of the land on the ſea coaſt, and within twenty miles of it, in the Diſtrict of Maine, contains a large proportion of clay;† and while every man poſſeſſes an extenſive farm, it is not to be expected that the clayey lands will produce much beſide graſs, barley, and potatoes; as they cannot afford to mix with it a ſufficient quantity of ſand and manure to render it ſuitable for the profitable culture of corn and grain in general. But when they ſhall be contented to hold and cultivate leſs land, and ſhall learn to mix ſand or ſhells with the clay, it will produce all kinds of roots, grain and fruits in the greateſt plenty. For it has been found that clayey lands are the beſt for gardens, when prepared by a mixture of ſand and manure.

The land farther from the ſea coaſt, and for a great diſtance into the country, and parallel to the ocean, is of a very ſuperior quality. It is generally of the richeſt loam, and produces

* Formerly it was pronounced Wiſſacaſſet by the Indians; and is ſaid to mean the confluence of three waters or rivers.

† There are ſome exceptions to this general remark.

produces all kinds of grain as abundantly as any part of New-England. And it is ſettling and improving in a moſt rapid manner.

There are a few good orchards in Pownalborough. But the cultivation of the apple tree is too much neglected. The common red cherry is found here in great abundance. There are alſo ſome plumb trees. And the pear undoubtedly might be ſucceſsfully cultivated; for it is generally found on clayey ground. A few peach trees have been raiſed in this and the neighbouring towns. But the general opinion is, that this fruit will not grow in this part of the country. This, however, is a miſtaken idea; and adopted probably to excuſe the negligence of the people. If particular ſpots were choſen, lying to the ſouth, and of a light or loamy ſoil, no doubt they would ſucceed. General Knox, who lives about thirty miles eaſtward of this place, has in his garden a great number of peach and apricot trees of two and three years growth; and they look as flouriſhing and vigorous as thoſe in the vicinity of Boſton.

Currants, raſberries, gooſeberries and ſtrawberries grow here, and in moſt parts of the country, in great abundance. And there is a fruit called the mooſe plumb, nearly as large as the apricot, natural to the climate, which would probably be much better, if carefully cultivated.

The wood is chiefly ever-green, ſuch as the fir, ſpruce, hemlock, white pine, and yellow, or Norway pine. There is alſo a conſiderable proportion of maple, of different kinds, of birch and beech. In the adjoining towns, there is a great quantity of oak.

The extremes of heat and cold in this place do not differ much from Boſton.* There are not ſo many very warm days here in ſummer, as in the vicinity of Boſton, but ſome when the mercury riſes as high within two or three degrees. And in winter, the mercury has been found not to be more than two degrees lower; but yet there is more cold weather here during the winter.

Pownalborough was incorporated in 1760, the ſame year that the county of Lincoln was ſeparated from Cumberland:

* Dr. Morſe is miſtaken, when he ſays that the heat here is greater than at Boſton.

berland: and it owes its name "to the pride of Governor Pownal."

There were ſome ſettlements made in this vicinity, as early as the year 1661. One Walter Phillips purchaſed land at that time of ſome Indian chiefs, and lived ſeveral years on the weſtern banks of Damariſcotta river, now within the town of New-Caſtle, which lies above Wiſcaſſet. Between this period and 1680, there were many families in this vicinity; the greater part of them on the eaſtern banks of Sheepſcot in New-Caſtle. The inhabitants were moſtly Dutch; and were under the government of New-York and Hudſon's River. They were driven off by the Indians, in 1680.

About this time, there were a few families at Wiſcaſſet. One George Davie ſettled here in 1663. It is ſaid he lived about half a mile north of the Point, on an eminence, fifty rods from the river. A brother of his, and two others, lived here at the ſame period. But they all fled in 1680. The widow of one of theſe Davies died in Newton, near Boſton, in 1752, aged 116. There is a portrait of her in the room of the Hiſtorical Society.

George Davie had alſo purchaſed a large tract of land of ſome Indians. "This came by inheritance and tranſfer to a number of wealthy men, who, in 1734, aſſociated under the name of the Boſton company. Wiſcaſſet Point is in this tract."

"The ſettlements begun again by one Robert Hooper, in 1730. Foye and Lambert came in '34. And the proprietors ſoon after lotted out the lands for ſettlement." * Hooper lived ſome time by the ſide of a large rock, a little ſouth of Main-ſtreet, and about three rods from the river, where now ſtands the houſe of Jeremiah Dalton.†

A few years after this, ſome families ſettled on the croſs river, about two miles from Wiſcaſſet Point; the names of which were Boynton, Taylor, Young, and Chapman. And in 1745, one Hilton from Dover, New-Hampſhire, ſet down by Monſeag river, which ſeparates Woolwich from Pownalborough.

* Sullivan's Hiſtory of the Diſtrict of Maine.

† A daughter of Hooper, Mrs. Taylor, is now living in Pownalborough. She was nine months old when ſhe was brought to the place.

Pownalborough. But they were kept in continual fear by the Indians; and frequently were obliged to ſhelter themſelves in the fort, which ſtood at the Point. Hilton was killed by the Indians; and his oldeſt ſon, now living in this town, was taken and carried to Canada; but returned the year after. A captain Williamſon, who died here in 1798, aged 80, was alſo taken and carried to Quebec, but was ſoon releaſed.

The poſt road from Boſton to St. George's river and Penobſcot paſſes through this town. And a poſt-office has been eſtabliſhed here eleven years. The mail arrives twice a week from Boſton; twice from Hallowell by a croſs poſt, and twice from the eaſtward.

Wiſcaſſet is a port of entry and delivery. And there are owned here nearly thirty ſquare-rigged veſſels; ſome of them very large. They amount to about 10,000 tons. They are lately chiefly employed in the Weſt-India trade. Until within a few years, the merchants ſent all their large veſſels to England and Scotland with lumber. And ſome ſtill purſue the ſame line of buſineſs. But the other is found to be more profitable. For the laſt three years, the merchants have added greatly to their property by trading to the Iſlands.

Wiſcaſſet is juſtly conſidered a very healthy ſituation; and this is alſo true of moſt other towns in the Diſtrict of Maine. More perſons die of conſumption, than of any other diſeaſe. And this is moſt probably owing to the too frequent uſe of ſpirit and tea. A great proportion of the common people are intemperate in the uſe of ſpirituous liquors; and often drink tea twice a day; which muſt be very injurious to the conſtitution. If they could be perſuaded to reform in theſe reſpects, they would preſerve both their health and their property.

For the laſt ſix years, the deaths, on an average, have been 13 a year. The births annually are upwards of 60. And very few die in infancy. And if children were rightly managed from the time of their birth; if they were uſed to frequent cold waſhings and to the freſh air, and were kept cleanly, it would be very rare that any of them die, except by ſome malignant, contagious diſeaſe.

Several of the inhabitants of this place were from England

England, Scotland, or Ireland; ſome of whom were Epiſcopalians, and ſome Preſbyterians; but they are all happily united with the reſt of the people, who form a Congregational Society. The Rev. Thomas Moore was the firſt ordained miniſter. He was ſettled in 1773.

Wiſcaſſet is the principal ſhire town in the County of Lincoln. The Court of Pleas ſets here once, the Supreme Judicial Court once, and the Federal Diſtrict Court twice, a year.

Witham Marshe's Journal of the Treaty held with the Six Nations by the Commissioners of Maryland, and other Provinces, at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, June, 1744.

Saturday, June the 16th, 1744.

THIS day the Hon. Edmund Jenings, and the Hon. Philip Thomas, Eſqrs. of the council of ſtate in Maryland, having heretofore been appointed (by a ſpecial power from his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Eſq. Governor, under his hand, and the ſeal of that province) commiſſioners for treating with the Six Nations of Indians, on behalf of the province, concerning ſome lands claimed by them, and to renew all former treaties betwixt the Six Nations and this government, agreed to proceed on their embaſſy.

I was required by them to ſtay at Annapolis, and receive the bills of exchange (to defray our expenſes) from Mr. Roſs, clerk of the council; and, after receiving the bills on Sunday, P. M. I went to Mr. Thomas's, where I lodged that night.

Sunday, 17th. Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings went over Cheſapeake Bay, as alſo did Mr. Benedict Calvert, who accompanied him to the treaty.

Monday, June 18th, 1744.

Breakfaſted at Mr. Thomas's about 8 o'clock this morning, and ſoon after ſet out with him, and the Rev. Mr. Craddock, (who accompanied us in quality of chaplain to the Maryland commiſſioners) for Patapſcoe. Arrived at James Moore's ordinary, at the head of Severn river, about one o'clock, where we dined; but ſuch a dinner was prepared

pared for us, as never was either ſeen or cooked in the highlands of Scotland, or the iſles of Orkney. It conſiſted of ſix eggs fried with ſix pieces of bacon, with ſome clammy pone or Indian bread. But as hunger knows little of cleanlineſs, and withal very impatient, we fell to, and ſoon devoured the victuals. Our liquor was ſorry rum, mixed with water and ſugar, which bears the heatheniſh name of bumbo. Of this we drank about a pint, to keep down the nauſeous eggs and bacon.

P. M. Paid for our ſlovenly dinner and liquor, and purſued our journey to Mrs. Hughes's, at Patapſcoe river, (over which ſhe keeps a ferry) to whoſe houſe we came about 3 o'clock. Here we refreſhed ourſelves with ſome good coffee, and toaſt and butter, which was ſerved to us in a neat and handſome manner: we likewiſe drank a bottle of generous wine; then paid our reckoning, and went over the river to Whetſtone-Point, and from thence proceeded to William Rogers's ordinary in Baltimore town, being three miles diſtant from Mrs. Hughes's.

Monday evening, in Baltimore County. I left Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Parſon at the ordinary, and went to Mr. Robert North's, where I ſupped with ſome blithe company; and from thence returned to Rogers's. Mr. Bourdillon, miniſter of this pariſh, viſited his brother of the cloth, and ſtaid with us till near 11 o'clock this night. It was with this gentleman and his wife that I came into Maryland on the 1ſt of January, 1737. She is niece to Sir Theodore Janſſen, Baronet. When Mr. Bourdillon had bidden us *bon ſoir*, we retired to reſt our wearied limbs, having rode 44 long miles this hot day.

Tueſday Morning, June 19th, 1744.

Roſe about 5 o'clock, and ordered breakfaſt to be got preſently; which was done. Drank tea, and then mounted our horſes to reach Edward Day's, who keeps the ferry on this ſide Joppa. Came to his houſe about 11 o'clock, baited our ſelves and horſes, and then paſſed over Gun-Powder river in his ferry-boat to Joppa town.

At Joppa. Reſted at Mr. Brown's, who keeps a brick ordinary. Here we dined on a boiled ham, and ſome chickens fried with bacon. Drank good wine and ſmall beer,

beer, and rendered ourſelves fit to encounter the fatigue of riding twenty-five miles further in this ſultry weather.

Here I waited on the Rev. Hugh Deane, who is parſon of this pariſh, to deliver him a packet of letters, &c. I received from Dr. Lyon, at Baltimore town. He read to me ſome of the news, mentioned in his European letters, concerning the queen of Hungary, the king of Pruſſia, and the Lord knows how many other potentates; but as I was neither politician, nor courtier, I gave but little attention to it. I underſtood Mr. D. had his intelligence from his wife's brother, who has ſome place in the government at home, or is in dependance of favours from ſome *great man*: God help him!

After dinner, about 3 in the afternoon, we took the route to Mr. Benjamin Chew's, in Cecil county, whoſe houſe is diſtant from Joppa twenty-ſix miles.

Betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clock in the evening, we reached Suſquehannah lower ferry; we tarried ſome ſmall time, and ſent our horſes over it in a boat by themſelves.

From hence we went to the eaſtern ſide of Suſquehannah, and then rode to Mr. Chew's, about a mile and a half diſtance from the river.

At this houſe we ſupped very heartily, for which our prieſt returned thanks. After ſupper we had a good deal of chat on various ſubjects; and then, very willingly retired to bed.

Wedneſday morning, June 20th, 1744.

We breakfaſted at Mr. Chew's, and then ſet out (with him) for Nottingham townſhip, which place we reached about a quarter of an hour after ten this morning. We put up our horſes at Thomas Hughes's, who keeps here an ordinary. He was an honeſt, facetious, and ſober Quaker, a man of good plain ſenſe and character.

Here we purpoſed to dine, and beſpoke a dinner accordingly, which was prepared for us about two o'clock. Here we were ſhaved by our friend and companion Mr. Chew, for no barber could be got in the whole neighbourhood.

I thought it a little odd our friend (who was a juſtice of the peace in his county) ſhould officiate as our tonſor; but as we could get no other, he, purely out of good nature, did the office of one.

This

This townſhip is a large body of land, conſiſting of between 30 and 40,000 acres. It lies in Cheſter County, within the Province of Pennſylvania. It is chiefly ſettled by Quaker farmers, who ſtrive to imitate thoſe in our mother country in every thing. There have been great diſputes between the preſent Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, and Meſſrs. Penns, proprietors of Pennſylvania, concerning this place; the firſt averring it to lie within the bounds of his province; and the others, that it is contained within theirs. The inhabitants (being Quakers) are deſirous of living under the Penns' government, by reaſon of the ſmall taxes they are burthened with; and more eſpecially as in that, they are not obliged to pay any thing to the prieſts of the ſteeple-houſes; whereas in Maryland, by a law made anno 1704, every male, white and black, and alſo black women, above the age of 16, and under the age of 60, are obliged to pay 40 lb. of tobacco per poll to the incumbent of their reſpective pariſhes. This is a moſt iniquitous tax, and is a moſt grievous burthen to thoſe who have many white men ſervants, and a great many ſlaves, which a great number of people have in Maryland.

The difference between the proprietors of the two provinces is likely to be ended by the Lord Chancellor, before whom a ſuit is depending, brought by the Penns againſt Lord Baltimore, for not ſtanding to, or fulfilling ſome agreement relating to the bounds of both provinces, wherein the Quakers had been too ſly for his Lordſhip, whereby their ſeveral titles may be drawn in queſtion.

Wedneſday, P. M. There was a great diſputation betwixt the Hon. Mr. Thomas, and one Gatchell, an inhabitant of this place, concerning carnal weapons. The latter being one of the followers of George Fox, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that it was not lawful to uſe any offenſive weapon whatever. As this is the common cant of that ſet of people, it is in vain to think of arguing them out of it, though founded on no reaſon.

In this government ſubſiſts a quarrel betwixt the Governor of it, and the Quaker members of the houſe of aſſembly, occaſioned by the latter's not conſenting to a militia law, which they will not grant for the defence of the province. Who has the moſt reaſon on their ſide, I know not;

not; but I really cannot blame the Quakers for not conſenting to ſuch a law, unleſs the power of putting it in execution ſhould be lodged in the houſe of aſſembly, and ſuch officers to be appointed by them.

At ſix this evening, the Hon. Edmund Jenings, Eſq. Col. Thomas Colvill, and Col. Robert King, (being the other honourable commiſſioners for Maryland) with Mr. Calvert, arrived here, from Col. Colvill's, in Cecil county. We all lodged at Mr. Hughes's, and agreed to ſet out for Lancaſter early in the morning, and to go thither over the Barrens.

Expenſes at Mr. Hughes's, paid in ſilver currency, to the value of £.2--17--2, Pennſylvania currency.

Thurſday morning, June 21, 1744.

Breakfaſted before five; then prepared ourſelves for riding. Set out from hence with the commiſſioners, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Gachel, and our landlord, who undertook to be our guide to Lancaſter town. We were joined on the road by ſome Quakers, who accompanied us to our deſigned ſtage.

At eleven o'clock, we arrived at one Sheppard's mill, having rode twenty miles from Nottingham. Here we all baited, and refreſhed ourſelves with ſome good neat's tongue, cold ham, and Madeira wine. We eat our repaſt under a tree, upon a long plank, cloſe to which was a trough, and in that our horſes were fed. We reſted at this place about an hour and an half, and then purſued our journey to Lancaſter. From hence we had a good road, the land being leſs hilly and ſtony than that we had rode over in the morning. Here are ſeveral large and fine farms, ſettled by the Germans. They ſow all kinds of grain, and have very plentiful harveſts. Their houſes are chiefly built with ſtone, and generally ſeated near ſome brook or ſtream of water. They have very large meadows, which produce a great deal of hay, and feed therewith variety of cattle, &c.

Thurſday, P. M. Arrived at Lancaſter town about two o'clock, and put up our horſes at Peter Worrall's, who here keeps an inn. Here I beſpoke a dinner for our commiſſioners, and the Maryland gentlemen, which was ſoon

got

got ready, to our great comfort. Procured a room and two beds, in Worrall's houſe, for our chaplain and myſelf.

Neither the governor of Pennſylvania, nor the Virginia commiſſioners, were arrived at the time when we did; but about ſix in the evening they came hither, attended by ſeveral Virginia gentlemen, and ſome from the city of Philadelphia.

Here we were informed that the Indians would not arrive till to-morrow, they marching very ſlow, occaſioned by their having a great many ſmall children and old men.

Meſſrs. Calvert, Craddock and myſelf went into, and viewed the court-houſe of this town. It is a pretty large brick building, two ſtories high. The ground room, where the juſtices of this county hold their court, is very ſpacious. There is a handſome bench, and railed in, whereon they ſit, and a chair in the midſt of it, which is filled by the judge. Below this bench, is a large table, of half oval form; round this, and under their Worſhips, ſit the county clerk, and the ſeveral attornies of the court, who, here, as well as in moſt other courts of the plantations, plead as counſellors. There are particular ſeats and places allotted to the ſheriff, crier, &c.

Fronting the juſtices' bench, and on each ſide of it, are ſeveral long ſteps, or ſtairs, raiſed each above the other, like the ſteps leading into the north door of St. Paul's. On theſe ſteps, ſtand the ſeveral auditors and ſpectators, when a court is held here. It was on theſe, that the Indian chiefs ſat, when they treated with the ſeveral governments. This court-houſe is capable to contain above 800 perſons, without incommoding each other.

When we had ſurveyed this room, we went up ſtairs, into one over head. This is a good room, and has a large chimney. In this the juſtices ſit in the month of February, for the convenience of the fire. Adjoining to this room, is a ſmaller one, where the juries are kept to agree on their verdict.

On the top of the court-houſe is a kind of cupola. We aſcended a ladder, and got into it. From hence we had a complete view of the whole town, and the country ſeveral miles round, and likewiſe of part of Suſquehannah river, at twelve miles diſtance.

This

This town has not been begun to be built above ſixteen years. It is conveniently laid out into ſundry ſtreets, and one main ſtreet, in the midſt of which ſtands the court-houſe and market. Through this runs the road to the back country, on Suſquehannah. There are ſeveral croſs ſtreets on each ſide of the main ſtreet, which are indifferently well built, as to quantity of houſes.

The inhabitants are chiefly High-Dutch, Scotch-Iriſh, ſome few Engliſh families, and unbelieving Iſraelites, who deal very conſiderably in this place.

The ſpirit of cleanlineſs has not as yet in the leaſt troubled the major part of the inhabitants; for, in general, they are very great ſluts and ſlovens. When they clean their houſes, which, by the bye, is very ſeldom, they are unwilling to remove the filth far from themſelves, for they place it cloſe to their doors, which, in the ſummer time, breeds an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas, and vermin.

The religions, which prevail here, are hardly to be numbered. Here are Dutch Calviniſts, who have a church built with ſquare logs, and their interſpaces filled up with clay. In this, is a ſmall organ, good for little, and worſe played on by the organiſt.

The ſect of Luther have a church likewiſe. This is more ſpacious than that of the Calviniſts, being built of ſtone, and is much larger than the other. The miniſter of this church is a gentleman of good character, and by his true paſtoral conduct keeps his congregation in good order. The miniſters of theſe Dutch churches are allowed no certain ſtipend for preaching, but are paid at the will of their hearers. This is a great tie upon them to do their duty, and makes them more diligent than our clergy are. Happy people! in this we may envy them.

A clergyman of the church of England ſometimes officiates in the court-houſe, there being no church here built by thoſe of that perſuaſion. There are great numbers of Iriſh Preſbyterians, and ſeveral Jews, as I hinted before, with divers others, that neither themſelves, nor any one elſe, can tell what ſect they follow or imitate.

The houſes, for the moſt part, are built and covered with wood, except ſome few, which are built of brick and ſtone. They are generally low, ſeldom exceeding two ſto-

ries. All the owners of lots and houſes, here, pay a ground rent, greater or leſs, according to the grant of them by James Hamilton, Eſq. who is the proprietor of the town.

There are hills which environ Lancaſter, as likewiſe ſome thick woods, which, in the ſummer, render it very hot, eſpecially in the afternoon. The ſoil is then dry and very ſandy, which, when a freſh wind blows, almoſt choak the inhabitants.

The water here is very bad, occaſioned by their ſprings, and even wells, being ſtored with lime-ſtones. This gave me a looſeneſs, and palled my appetite; but ſoon left me, after I refrained drinking the water by itſelf.

They have a very good market in this town, well filled with proviſions of all kinds, and prodigiouſly cheap.

Our commiſſioners and company ſupped at Worrall's, and paſſed away an hour or two very agreeably; after which I retired to bed; but had not long repoſed myſelf, when I was moſt fiercely attacked by the neighbouring Dutch fleas and bugs, which were ready to devour both me and the miniſter: however, after killing great quantities of my nimble enemies, I got about two hours ſleep.

Mr. Calvert was more inhumanly uſed by them than myſelf, as was likewiſe Mr. Craddock. On the next night Mr. Calvert left our lodgings, and laid in the court-houſe chamber, among the young gentlemen from Virginia, who there had beds made on the floor for that purpoſe.

Friday, June 22d, 1744.

Roſe betwixt 4 and 5. Breakfaſted with Mr. commiſſioner Thomas, Colonels Colvill and King, at Worrall's.

The Indian chiefs not being yet come, we had no buſineſs to do.

The honourable the commiſſioners of Virginia gave our commiſſioners, and the ſeveral Maryland gentlemen, an invitation to dine with them in the court-houſe, which we did, betwixt one and two. During our dinner, the deputies of the Six Nations, with their followers and attendants to the number of 252, arrived in town. Several of their ſquaws, or wives, with ſome ſmall children, rode on horſe-back, which is very unuſual with them. They brought their fire-arms and bows and arrows, as well as tomahawks.

A gre

A great concourſe of people followed them. They marched in very good order, with *Cannaſateego*, one of the Onondago chiefs, at their head; who, when he came near to the court-houſe wherein we were dining, ſung, in the Indian language, a ſong, inviting us to a renewal of all treaties heretofore made, and that now to be made.

Mr. Weiſer, the interpreter, who is highly eſteemed by the Indians, and is one of their council of ſtate, (though a German by birth) conducted them to ſome vacant lots in the back part of the town, where ſundry poles and boards were placed. Of theſe, and ſome boughs of trees from the woods, the Indians made *wigwams*, or cabins, wherein they reſided during the treaty. They will not, on any occaſion whatſoever, dwell, or even ſtay, in houſes built by white people.

They placed their cabins according to the rank each nation of them holds in their grand council. The *Onondagoes* nation was placed on the right hand and upper end; then the others, according to their ſeveral dignities.

After dining, and drinking the loyal healths, all the younger gentlemen of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, went with Mr. Conrad Weiſer to the Indian camp, where they had erected their ſeveral cabins. We viewed them all, and heartily welcomed *Cannaſateego*, and *Tachanuntie*, (alias the Black Prince) two chiefs of the Onondagoes, to town. They ſhaked us by the hands, and ſeemed very well pleaſed with us. I gave them ſome ſnuff, for which they returned me thanks in their language.

The firſt of theſe ſachems (or chiefs) was a tall, well-made man; had a very full cheſt, and brawny limbs. He had a manly countenance, mixed with a good-natured ſmile. He was about 60 years of age; very active, ſtrong, and had a ſurpriſing livelineſs in his ſpeech, which I obſerved in the diſcourſe betwixt him, Mr. Weiſer, and ſome of the ſachems.

Tachanuntie, another ſachem, or chief of the ſame nation, was a tall, thin man; old, and not ſo well featured as Cannaſateego: I believe he may be near the ſame age with him. He is one of the greateſt warriors that ever the Five Nations produced, and has been a great war-captain for many years paſt.

He

He is alſo called *the Black Prince*, becauſe, as I was informed, he was either begotten on an Indian woman by a negro, or by an Indian chief on ſome negro woman; but by which of the two, I could not be well aſſured.

The Governor of Canada, (whom theſe Indians call *Onantio*) will not treat with any of the Six Nations of Indians, unleſs *Tachanuntie* is perſonally preſent, he having a great ſway in all the Indian councils.

Our interpreter, Mr. Weiſer, deſired us, whilſt we were here, not to talk much of the Indians, nor laugh at their dreſs, or make any remarks on their behaviour: if we did, it would be very much reſented by them, and might cauſe ſome differences to ariſe betwixt the white people and them. Beſides, moſt of them underſtood Engliſh, though they will not ſpeak it when they are in treaty.

The Indians, in general, were poorly dreſſed, having old match-coats, and thoſe ragged; few, or no ſhirts, and thoſe they had, as black as the Scotchman made the *Jamaicans*, when he wrote in his letter they were as black as that ● blot.

When they had reſted ſome little ſpace of time, ſeveral of them began to paint themſelves with divers ſorts of colours, which rendered them frightful. Some of the others rubbed bear's greaſe on their faces, and then laid upon that a white paint. When we had made a ſufficient ſurvey of them and their cabins, we went to the court-houſe, where the Indians were expected to meet the Governor of Pennſylvania, the Hon. GEORGE THOMAS, *Eſq.* and to be by him congratulated on their arrival at this town.

Friday, P. M. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, Mr. Weiſer accompanied the ſeveral Indian chiefs from their camp up to the court-houſe, which they entered and ſeated themſelves after their own manner. Soon after, his Honour the Governor, the honourable the commiſſioners of Virginia, the honourable the commiſſioners of Maryland, and the young gentlemen from the three governments, went into the court-houſe to the Indians. There the Governor, and all the commiſſioners, ſeverally welcomed the Indians to Lancaſter, and ſhaked hands with the ſachems.

Then his Honour ſeated himſelf in the chair on the bench,

bench, the Virginia commiſſioners placed themſelves, *to wit*, the Hon. Col. Thomas Lee, and Col. William Beverly, on his right hand, and our honourable commiſſioners on his left. William Peters, Eſq. ſecretary of Pennſylvania, ſat in the middle of the table, under the Governor, and Mr. William Black, ſecretary to the Virginia commiſſioners, on his right hand, and myſelf, as ſecretary to the commiſſioners of Maryland, on his left hand.

The Governor deſired the interpreter to tell the Indians, "He was very glad to ſee them here, and ſhould not trouble "them with buſineſs this day, but deſired they would reſt "themſelves, after their great journey." This, Mr. Weiſer interpreted to them, whereat they ſeemed well enough pleaſed, and made the Governor a ſuitable anſwer.

When this was done, a good quantity of punch, wine, and pipes and tobacco, were given to the ſachems, and the Governor and all the commiſſioners drank to them, whom they pledged. When they had ſmoked ſome ſmall time, and each drank a glaſs or two of wine and punch, they retired to their cabins.

Our landlord ſhewed me the book, wherein he keeps the account of the expenſes of ours and the Virginia commiſſioners, and which was ordered to be produced every morning to me, to know exactly the amount of each day's expenſe.

Saturday, June 23d, 1744, at Lancaſter.

This day I was ſeized with a lax, and ſmall fever, occaſioned by drinking the water of this town.

After breakfaſt, the Governor, the honourable the commiſſioners, and ſeveral other gentlemen, went to the Dunkers' nunnery, about twelve miles from hence. They returned hither about ſix in the evening.

All this day the Indians ſtaid in their wigwams; and it is uſual for them to reſt two days after their journey, before they treat, or do buſineſs with the Engliſh.

After ſupper, this evening, I went with Mr. Preſident Logan's ſon, and divers other young gentlemen, to the Indians' camp, they being then dancing one of their lighter war dances.

They performed it after this manner: Thirty or forty of the younger men formed themſelves into a ring, a fire being

being lighted (notwithſtanding the exceſſive heat) and burning clear in the midſt of them. Near this, ſat three elderly Indians, who beat a drum to the time of the others' dancing. Then the dancers hopped round the ring, after a frantic faſhion, not unlike the prieſts of Bacchus in old times, and repeated, ſundry times, theſe ſounds, *Yoboh! Bugh!* Soon after this, the major part of the dancers (or rather hoppers) ſet up a horrid ſhriek or halloo!

They continued dancing and hopping, after this manner, ſeveral hours, and reſted very ſeldom. Once, whilſt I ſtaid with them, they did reſt themſelves; immediately thereupon, the three old men began to ſing an Indian ſong, the tune of which was not diſagreeable to the white by-ſtanders. Upon this, the young warriors renewed their terrible ſhriek and halloo, and formed themſelves into a ring, environing the three old ones, and danced as before. Mr. Calvert, myſelf, and ſome others ſlipped through the dancers, and ſtood near the fire; and when the drum-beaters ceaſed their noiſe, we ſhaked them by the hand. Here we preſented ſome clean pipes to them, which were very acceptable, moſt of the Indians being great ſmokers of tobacco. A *Coneſtogoe*, or *Suſquehannah* Indian, ſtood without the circle, and importuned the white by-ſtanders to give money to the young children, which was done. Whilſt this diverſion happened, ſome High-Dutch, belonging to the town, brought their guns with them to the camp; which being perceived by the *Coneſtogoe*, he informed us, it would be very diſpleaſing to the Indians, who would reſent it, though brought thither with ever ſo innocent an intent; therefore deſired us to tell the Germans to withdraw, and leave their muſquets out of their ſight, otherwiſe ſome bad conſequences might enſue. We complied with his requeſt, and made the Germans retire.

From the camp I went to Worrall's, and ſat up till eleven o'clock; to whoſe houſe I heard the Indian drum, and the warriors repeating their terrible noiſe and dancing; and at this ſport of theirs, they continued till next one in the morning.

Theſe young men are ſurpriſingly agile, ſtrong, and ſtraight limbed. They ſhoot, both with the gun and bow and

and arrow, moſt dexterouſly. They likewiſe throw their tomahawk (or little hatchet) with great certainty, at an indifferent large object, for twenty or thirty yards diſtance. This weapon they uſe againſt their enemies, when they have ſpent their powder and ball, and deſtroy many of them with it.

The chiefs, who were deputed to treat with the Engliſh by their different nations, were very ſober men, which is rare for an Indian to be ſo, if he can get liquor. They behaved very well, during our ſtay amongſt them, and ſundry times refuſed drinking in a moderate way. Whenever they renew old treaties of friendſhip, or make any bargain about lands they ſell to the Engliſh, they take great care to abſtain from intoxicating drink, for fear of being over-reached; but when they have finiſhed their buſineſs, then ſome of them will drink without meaſure.

Sunday, June 24th, 1744.

Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings ordered me to copy the ſpeech to be made by him, in the name of the governor of Maryland, to the Indians, in the court-houſe, to-morrow morning. This, and tranſcribing ſome copies of it, buſied me ſo much, that I could not go to the court-houſe, where divine ſervice, according to the church of England, was performed by my fellow-traveller, the Rev. Mr. Craddock, to a numerous audience, this day. He alſo preached a very good ſermon, which met the approbation of the ſeveral gentlemen preſent.

His Honour the Governor invited Mr. Craddock to dine with him, which he did, and received a hearty welcome.

Betwixt 1 and 2, our honourable commiſſioners, and thoſe of Virginia, dined in the court-houſe, and the gentlemen of both their governments; after which, the office of the day was again performed by another miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church. He gave us an excellent ſermon, and expatiated very feelingly on the too prevalent vices of the age. He uſed plain language, and thereby fitted his diſcourſe for all capacities, by which all might truly edify, if they had any grace, or good diſpoſition thereto.

In the evening, walked to the Indian camp, where they were dancing in the manner deſcribed laſt night, only the number

number of dancers was augmented, they having taken in ſeveral ſmall boys, to make a larger ring.

Betwixt 8 and 9, this night, ſupped with my brother ſecretary, Mr. Black, in his lodgings at Mr. George Sanderſon's. We had pleaſant company, good wine, and lime-punch. From hence I went to Worrall's, where, in my room, three very impudent Indian traders had taken poſſeſſion of my bed, and cauſed another to be there made; but after ſome diſputes, our landlord made theſe ſcoundrels quit their beds, and leave the parſon and myſelf in quiet poſſeſſion.

Theſe traders, for the moſt part, are as wild as ſome of the moſt ſavage Indians, amongſt whom they trade for ſkins, fur, &c. for ſundry kinds of European goods, and ſtrong liquors. They go back in the country, above 300 miles from the white inhabitants; here they live with the Indian hunters till they have diſpoſed of their cargoes; and then, on horſes, carry their ſkins, &c. to Philadelphia, where they are bought by the merchants there, and from thence exported to London. It is a very beneficial trade, though hazardous to their perſons and lives; for the weather is ſo exceſſively cold where they trade, which is near the lakes of Canada, and their cabins ſo poorly made to defend themſelves from the bitter winters, that they often periſh: and on the other hand, they are liable to the inſults and ſavage fury of the drunken Indians, by ſelling to them rum, and other ſpirituous liquors. The government, as yet, have not provided a law, prohibiting the ſelling ſuch liquors, although it has been preſſed by his Honour, who is but too ſenſible of the ill effects produced by the Indian traders carrying ſo much to barter with the hunters of the Six Nations.

I reſted well, after diſpoſſeſſing theſe intruding gueſts; but this happened by my giving orders to my landlord's ſervants, this morning, to waſh our room with cold water, and take my bed from its bedſtead, and lay it on the floor; and by this means the bugs and fleas were defeated of their prey.

Monday morning, 25th June, 1744.

At 10 o'clock, the Indian ſachems met the Governor, the honourable commiſſioners of Virginia, and thoſe of this province,

province, when his Honour made them a ſpeech,* to which Cannaſateego returned an anſwer in behalf of all the others preſent.

The Indians ſtaid in the court-houſe about two hours; and were regaled with ſome bumbo and ſangree.

The honourable commiſſioners from Virginia and Maryland dined in the court-houſe, as did the gentlemen of both governments; we had two tables, and a great variety of victuals; our company being about thirty in number.

In the court-houſe, Monday, P. M.

The Governor, and all the honourable commiſſioners, reſumed their ſeveral ſeats here; and then the chiefs came in, and took their places.

Edmund Jenings, Eſq. as firſt commiſſioner for Maryland, made a ſpeech to the Six Nations, which was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiſer. Whilſt Mr. Jenings delivered his ſpeech, he gave the interpreter a ſtring and two belts of wampum, which were by him preſented to the ſachem Cannaſateego; and the Indians thereupon gave the cry of approbation; by this we were ſure the ſpeech was well approved by the Indians. This cry is uſually made on preſenting wampum to the Indians in a treaty, and is performed thus: The grand chief and ſpeaker amongſt them pronounces the word *jo-hah!* with a loud voice, ſingly; then all the others join in this ſound, *woh!* dwelling ſome little while upon it, and keeping exact time with each other, and immediately, with a ſharp noiſe and force, utter this ſound, *wugh!* This is performed in great order, and with the utmoſt ceremony and decorum; and with the Indians is like our Engliſh huzza!

Monday evening, in the court-houſe chamber.

I ſupped with the Governor, the honourable commiſſioners, and the gentlemen of Philadelphia, who attended his Honour to this town. We had an elegant entertainment; and after ſupper the Governor was extremely merry, and thereby ſet an example of agreeable mirth, which

* See the ſpeech and anſwer, in the treaty, printed at Philadelphia, and Williamſburg in Virginia.

which ran through the whole company. During this merriment, two Germans happened to paſs by the court-houſe with a harp and fiddle, and played ſome tunes under the window of our room: upon that, they were ordered to come up ſtairs, where the Governor required them to divert us, which they did, but not with the harmony of their muſic, (for that was very uncouth and diſpleaſing to us, who had heard ſome of the beſt hands in England) but by playing a tune, of ſome ſort, to a young Indian, who danced a jig with Mr. Andrew Hamilton, in a moſt ſurpriſing manner. At nine o'clock, the Governor and commiſſioners left us; and then the younger perſons raiſed their jollity by dancing in the Indian dreſs, and after their manner.

Tueſday, 26th June.

Copied fair the proceedings of yeſterday with the Indians, as alſo Gov. Thomas's ſpeech to them, which were tranſmitted to his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Eſq. Governor of Maryland, by Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings.

We dined in the court-houſe; and ſoon after I received orders from the above commiſſioner, to acquaint all the Maryland gentlemen, "That they ſhould deſiſt going into "the court-houſe this afternoon, during our treaty with "the Six Nations." Purſuant to which order, I informed the gentlemen of our commiſſioners' pleaſure, at which the firſt were much diſguſted, as were the Virginia gentlemen, who had the ſame commands laid on them by the ſecretary of their commiſſioners.

Five o'clock, P. M. His Honour the Governor of Pennſylvania, and the honourable the commiſſioners of Virginia and Maryland, met the Indian chiefs in the court-houſe, when Cannaſateego anſwered our ſpeech of yeſterday, and preſented a ſtring and two belts of wampum: which being done, the further execution of the treaty was adjourned until the next day.

By order of our commiſſioners, and at the requeſt of Mr. Weiſer, the interpreter, I bought half a groſs of tobacco pipes, to be preſented to the Indians at their camp; which was accordingly done, and they ſeemed well pleaſed at the gift, ſuch pipes being ſcarce with them.

Wedneſday,

Wedneſday, 27th June.

After breakfaſt, viewed Mr. Worrall's book of our expenſes, which we ſettled; and the whole amount thereof, from the 20th inſtant to this day, was £.46--0--5, Pennſylvania currency.——N. B. Mr. Worrall's account for the negroes' expenſes was not included in the above ſum.

This day our commiſſioners wrote a letter to our Governor, giving him an account of their tranſactions with the Indians, which I fairly copied by their order.

P. M. 5 o'clock. The Governor, and all the honourable commiſſioners, again met, and treated with the Six Nations, in the court-houſe, when Tachanuntie, the famous Black Prince, (mentioned before) anſwered the ſpeech made yeſterday by the Hon. Col. Lee, one of the Virginia commiſſioners; and in token that it was well received and approved by the chiefs, Tachanuntie preſented one ſtring and two belts of wampum to his Majeſty's commiſſioners of Virginia. Then Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings deſired the interpreter to aſk the Indians if they would be ready for a conference to-morrow morning, in the court-houſe chamber, with the commiſſioners of Maryland; which he did, and the Indians anſwered, that they would meet for that purpoſe, as deſired.

At 8 o'clock, this evening, I went, with three of our honourable commiſſioners, to a ball in the court-houſe chamber; to which his Honour the Governor of Pennſylvania, the commiſſioners of Virginia and Maryland, and the gentlemen of the ſeveral colonies, with ſundry inhabitants of this town, were invited.

James Hamilton, Eſq. the proprietor of Lancaſter, made the ball, and opened it, by dancing two minuets with two of the ladies here, which laſt danced wilder time than any Indians.

Our muſic and muſicians were the ſame as deſcribed laſt Monday evening.

The females (I dare not call them ladies, for that would be a profanation of the name) were, in general, very diſagreeable. The dancers conſiſted of Germans and Scotch-Iriſh; but there were ſome Jeweſſes, who had not long ſince come from New-York, that made a tolerable appearance, being well dreſſed, and of an agreeable behaviour.

There

There was a large and elegant ſupper prepared in the court-houſe chamber, of which the Governor, ſome of the honourable commiſſioners, and the female dancers, firſt eat; then the other gentlemen in order, and afterwards the younger gentlemen. The dances were concluded about 12 o'clock; but myſelf, with ſeveral others of the younger ſort, ſtaid till after one in the morning.

Thurſday, 28th of June, 1744, A. M.

At 9 this morning, the commiſſioners of Maryland and the Six Nations met in the court-houſe chamber, according to agreement of yeſterday.

Here we opened the ſeveral bales and boxes of goods, to be preſented the Indians, they having been bought at Philadelphia, and ſent hither for that end.

Before the chiefs viewed and handled the ſeveral goods, Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings made them a ſpeech in the name of the Governor of Maryland, with which, after it was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiſer, they ſeemed well pleaſed.

The chiefs turned over, and narrowly inſpected the goods, and aſked the prices of them; which being told them, they ſeemed ſomewhat diſſatisfied; and deſired to go down into the court-houſe, to conſult among themſelves, (which is their uſual method, if it concerns any matter of importance, as this was, for they muſt give a particular account of their whole negotiation to their ſeveral tribes, when they return) with their interpreter. They did ſo; and after ſome time came up again, and agreed with our commiſſioners to releaſe their claim and right to any lands now held by the inhabitants of Maryland, and for which the ſaid Indians were not heretofore ſatisfied, in conſideration of the following goods, viz.

4 pieces of ſtrouds, at £.7	£.28	0	0
2 pieces ditto, £.5,	10	0	0
200 ſhirts,	63	12	0
3 pieces half thicks,	11	0	0
3 ditto duffle blankets, at £.7,	21	0	0
1 ditto, ditto,	6	10	0
47 guns, at £.1-6-0,	61	2	0
1lb. vermilion,	0	18	0
Carried over,	£.202	2	0

Brought over,	£.202	2	0
1000 flints,	0	18	0
4 doz. jews-harps,	0	14	0
1 doz. boxes,	0	1	0
1cwt. 2qrs. 0lb. bar lead,	3	0	0
2 qrs. ſhot,	1	0	0
2 half barrels gun-powder,	13	0	0
Pennſylvania money.	£.220	15	0

The above quantity of goods were accordingly given the Indians, as agreed on by both parties; after which, our commiſſioners ordered me to go to Mr. Worrall, and deſire him to ſend ſome punch for the ſachems, which was accordingly done; and after they had ſeverally drank health to the commiſſioners, and the compliment returned by the latter, the Indians retired to their wigwams, and the honourable commiſſioners went to their lodgings about 12 o'clock.

Poſt Meridiem. The commiſſioners of Virginia had a private treaty with the chiefs, in the court-houſe, when Col. Lee made them a ſpeech; which ſee in the printed Treaty, fol. 20, 21, 22.

In the evening, about 7 o'clock, I accompanied my friend, Col. Nathan Rigbie, to the Indian cabins, where, having collected ſeveral of their papooſes (or little children) together, he flung a handful of Engliſh half-pennies amongſt them, for which they ſcrambled heartily, and with the utmoſt earneſtneſs. This pleaſed the elder ſort very much; and they eſteem it a great mark of friendſhip, if the white people make preſents to their children, or treat them with any particular notice. I gave the papooſes ſome ſmall beads, which were kindly received. The young men, this night, again danced a war-dance, as deſcribed on Saturday laſt; at which were preſent a great number of white people. When the colonel and myſelf had taken a view of the Onondagoes', Cahugas' and Senecas' cabins, he went from me to the ring of dancers, and then I went to a cabin, where I heard the celebrated Mrs. Montour, a French lady, (but now, by having lived ſo long among the Six Nations, is become almoſt an Indian) had her reſidence.

dence. When I approached the wigwam, I ſaluted her in French, and aſked her whether ſhe was not born in Canada? of what parents? and whether ſhe had not lived a long time with the Indians? She anſwered me in the ſame language very civilly, and after ſome compliments were paſſed betwixt us, told me, in a polite manner, "That ſhe was born in Canada, whereof her father (who "was a French gentleman) had been Governor; under "whoſe adminiſtration, the then Five Nations of Indians "had made war againſt the French, and the Hurons in "that government, (whom we term the French Indians, "from eſpouſing their part againſt the Engliſh, and living "in Canada) and that, in the war, ſhe was taken by ſome "of the Five Nations' warriors, being then about ten "years of age; and by them was carried away into their "country, where ſhe was habited and brought up in the "ſame manner as their children: That when ſhe grew "up to years of maturity, ſhe was married to a famous "war captain of thoſe nations, who was in great eſteem "for the glory he procured in the wars he carried on "againſt the Catawbas, a great nation of Indians to the "ſouth-weſt of Virginia, by whom ſhe had ſeveral chil-"dren; but about fifteen years ago, he was killed in a "battle with them; ſince which, ſhe has not been mar-"ried: That ſhe had little or no remembrance of the "place of her birth, nor indeed of her parents, it being "near fifty years ſince ſhe was raviſhed from them by the "Indians."

She has been a handſome woman, genteel, and of polite addreſs, notwithſtanding her reſidence has been ſo long among the Indians; though formerly ſhe was wont to accompany the ſeveral chiefs, who uſed to renew treaties of friendſhip with the proprietor and governor of Pennſylvania, at Philadelphia, the metropolis of that province; and being a white woman, was there very much careſſed by the gentlewomen of that city, with whom ſhe uſed to ſtay for ſome time. She retains her native language, by converſing with the Frenchmen who trade for fur, ſkins, &c. among the ſix nations; and our language ſhe learned at Philadelphia, as likewiſe of our traders, who go back into the Indians' country. In her cabin were two of her daughters,

daughters, by the war-captain, who were both married to perſons of the ſame ſtation, and were then gone to war with the Catawbas before mentioned. One of theſe young women had a ſon, about five years old, who, I think, was one of the fineſt featured and limbed children mine eyes ever ſaw, and was not ſo tawny, or greaſed, as the other Indian children were; but, on the contrary, his cheeks were ruddy, mixed with a delicate white, had eyes and hair of an hazel colour, and was neatly dreſſed in a green ban-jan, and his other garments were ſuitable.

Madame Montour has but one ſon, who, for his proweſs and martial exploits, was lately made a captain, and a member of the Indian council, and is now gone to war againſt the Catawbas, with her ſon-in-law.

She is in great eſteem with the beſt ſort of white people, and by them always treated with abundance of civility; and whenever ſhe went to Philadelphia, (which formerly ſhe did pretty often) the ladies of that city always invited her to their houſes, entertained her well, and made her ſeveral preſents.

From this cabin, when I had taken leave of Mrs. Montour and her daughters, I returned to the dancers, who were continuing their mirth; and afterwards returned to my lodgings.

Friday, June the 29th, 1744, A. M.

Our commiſſioners and the Six Nations had a private conference in the court-houſe chamber, when they jointly proceeded to ſettle the bounds and quantity of land the latter were to releaſe to Lord Baltimore, in Maryland; but the Indians, not very well apprehending our commiſſioners, in their demand reſpecting the bounds of the lands to be releaſed, occaſioned a great delay in the finiſhing of that buſineſs; however, it was wholly ſettled in the afternoon, upon Mr. Weiſer's conference with the Governor of Pennſylvania, his Majeſty's commiſſioners of Virginia, and thoſe of Maryland, and alſo with the Indians in council, where he debated the matter more fully; and explained our commiſſioners' demands in ſo clear a manner, that they came to ſuch an amicable determination, as proved agreeable to each party. We again preſented the ſachems, here, with bumbo punch, with which they drank proſperity and ſucceſs

ceſs to their Father, the great King over the waters, and to the healths of our commiſſioners.

This day we dined at our landlord Worrall's; and it was agreed, by the commiſſioners of Maryland, to invite all the Six Nations' chiefs, to dine with them, in company with the Governor and Virginia commiſſioners, to-morrow, in the court-houſe; againſt which time, orders were given to prepare a large and elegant entertainment.

In the evening I went with Col. Rigbie, and other gentlemen, to viſit one Mr. Adams, a German doctor, who, we underſtood, had got an organ; but it was with the greateſt importunity he would favour us in playing a tune, telling us, that unleſs he himſelf was poſſeſſed with a ſtrong deſire to play, he could oblige no body; yet, ſeeing we were ſo very importunate, he at laſt complied, and ſtrummed over three or four High-Dutch pſalm tunes, to which he ſang the words, in the moſt enthuſiaſtic raptures. For my part, what with the horrid noiſe he made on the organ, and his horſe-voice, I never ſuffered ſo great an anticipation of pleaſure in hearing muſic, or, at leaſt, a muſical inſtrument, in my whole life. When he had finiſhed his rapturous fit of noiſe, he acquainted us, that he had been a conſummate rake in his more youthful days; but ſoon after he married, turned himſelf to a ſober and religious life, and praiſed his Maker ſeveral hours in a day, by playing on, and ſinging to his organ. He ſeemed to us to be a perfect enthuſiaſt; and, upon inquiry among his neighbours, he has borne that character ever ſince he took to himſelf a wife. Being very much tired with his cant and noiſe, we at laſt took our leaves of him, though not before inviting him to drink a glaſs of wine with us at our lodgings; but he deſired to be excuſed accepting our invitation, at which we were not diſpleaſed, ſince we might have expected his viſit would have proved very troubleſome.

Saturday, 30th June, 1744, A. M.

Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings having this morning drawn a deed of releaſe from the chiefs of the Six Nations for the lands they claim in Maryland, to the uſe of Lord Baltimore, ſent for me to engroſs it, which I ſo did, purſuant to his order, about nine o'clock.

At

At ten, his Majeſty's commiſſioners had a conference with the Indians in the court-houſe chamber, to which no other perſons than themſelves were admitted.

One o'clock, P. M. The twenty-four chiefs of the Six Nations, by invitation of yeſterday from the honourable commiſſioners of Maryland, dined with them in the court-houſe; when were preſent, at other tables, his Honour the Governor of Pennſylvania, the honourable commiſſioners of Virginia, and a great many gentlemen of the three colonies. There were a large number of the inhabitants of Lancaſter likewiſe preſent to ſee the Indians dine.

We had five tables, great variety of diſhes, and ſerved up in very good order. The ſachems ſat at two ſeparate tables; at the head of one, the famous orator, Cannaſateego, ſat, and the others were placed according to their rank. As the Indians are not accuſtomed to eat in the ſame manner as the Engliſh, or other polite nations do, we, who were ſecretaries on this affair, with Mr. Thomas Cookſon, prothonatary of Lancaſter county, William Logan, Eſq. ſon of Mr. Preſident Logan, and Mr. Nathaniel Rigbie, of Baltimore county, in Maryland, carved the meat for them, ſerved them with cider and wine, mixed with water, and regulated the economy of the two tables. The chiefs ſeemed prodigiouſly pleaſed with their feaſt, for they fed luſtily, drank heartily, and were very greaſy before they finiſhed their dinner, for, by the bye, they made no uſe of their forks. The interpreter, Mr. Weiſer, ſtood betwixt the table, where the governor ſat, and that, at which the ſachems were placed, who, by order of his Honour, was deſired to inform the Indians he drank their healths, which he did; whereupon they gave the uſual cry of approbation, and returned the compliment, by drinking health to his Honour and the ſeveral commiſſioners.

After dinner, the interpreter informed the Governor and commiſſioners, "That as the Lord Proprietary and "Governor of Maryland was not known to the Indians by "any particular name, they had agreed, in council, to take "the firſt opportunity of a large company to preſent him "with one: And, as this with them was a matter of great "conſequence, and attended with abundance of form, the

" ſeveral nations had drawn lots for the performance of " the ceremony ; and the lot falling on the Căhūgă na- " tion, they had choſen Gāchrādōdŏn, one of their chiefs, " to be their ſpeaker, and he deſired leave to begin ;" which being given, he, on an elevated part of the court-houſe, with all the dignity of a warrior, the geſture of an orator, and in a very graceful poſture, ſpoke as follows :

" As the Governor of Maryland has invited us here, to " treat about our lands, and brighten the chain of friend- " ſhip, the united Six Nations think themſelves ſo much " obliged to him, that we have come to a reſolution, in " council, to give the great man, who is proprietor of Ma- " ryland, a particular name, by which we may hereafter " correſpond with him : And as it hath fallen to the Cahu- " gaes' lot in council to conſider of a proper name for that " chief man, we have agreed to give him the name of " Tōcărў-hō-gōn, denoting Precedency, Excellency, or liv- " ing in the middle, or honourable place, betwixt Af- " ſerigoa, and our brother Onas, by whom our treaties " may be the better carried on."

And then, addreſſing himſelf to his Honour the Gover-nor of Pennſylvania, the honourable the commiſſioners of Virginia and Maryland, and to the gentlemen then preſent, he added :

" As there is a company of great men now aſſembled, we " take this opportunity to publiſh this matter, that it may " be known Tocary-ho-gon is our friend, and that we are " ready to honour him, and that by ſuch name he may be " always called and known among us ; and, we hope, he " will ever act towards us, according to the excellence of " the name we have now given him, and enjoy a long and " happy life."

When the ſpeech was ended, all the other chiefs expreſſed their aſſent, and great ſatisfaction at what was ſaid to our commiſſioners, inſomuch that they ſent forth five ſeveral cries of approbation.

Gachradodon having finiſhed his complimentary ora-tion, Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings, in the name of the other commiſſioners, and on behalf of Lord Baltimore, ſpoke in reply to the ſachem : " That his Lordſhip was much obli- " ged to the ſix nations for diſtinguiſhing him by the name

" of

" of Tocaryhogon, eſteeming it a mark of kindneſs and " honour : That his Lordſhip would entertain the moſt " unfeigned friendſhip for them ; and that the government " of Maryland would ever be ready and deſirous to render " them its beſt offices, conducive to their tranquillity and " undiſturbed ſafety ;" which Mr. Weiſer, by command, interpreted to the Indians ; and at the ſame time was ordered to acquaint them, that the governor and the commiſſioners were then preparing to drink his Majeſty's health ; all which was done, and the chiefs expreſſed a ſincere joy by their cry of approbation, and drank the ſame in bumpers of Madeira wine. The governor, commiſſioners, and indeed all the perſons preſent, except the Indians, gave three ſeveral huzzas, after the Engliſh manner, on drinking the King's health ; which a good deal ſurpriſed them, they having never before heard the like noiſe.

Upon ending the ceremony of drinking healths, the governor and commiſſioners retired ſome little time ; but within an hour, the commiſſioners of Virginia and Maryland entered the court-houſe, and afterwards went up into the chamber, as likewiſe the ſeveral chiefs, Mr. Weiſer, and a great many of the young gentlemen. Here, by order of our commiſſioners, I produced the engroſſed releaſe for the lands, with the ſeals fixed. We were obliged to put about the glaſs pretty briſkly ; and then Mr. Weiſer interpreted the contents of it to the ſachems, who, conferring amongſt themſelves about the execution of it, the major part of them ſeemed very inclinable to ſign and deliver it ; but upon Shukelemy, an Oneydoe chief's remonſtrance, ſome of the others, with himſelf, refuſed, for that day, executing it ; which refuſal of Shukelemy, we imputed, and that not without reaſon, to ſome ſiniſter and under-hand means, made uſe of by the Pennſylvanians, to induce the ſachems not to give up their right to the lands by deed, without having a larger conſideration given them, by the province of Maryland, than what was ſpecified in the releaſe. Shukelemy, who before, we had eſteemed one of our faſteſt friends, put us under a deep ſurpriſe and confuſion, by his unfair behaviour ; yet we, in ſome meaſure, extricated ourſelves out of them, by the honeſt Cannaſateego's, and the other ſachems, to the number of ſixteen, delivering

delivering the deed after the forms cuſtomary with the Engliſh, to which there were a great many gentlemen ſigned their names as witneſſes. Mr. Weiſer aſſured the commiſſioners, that he, with Cannaſateego and ſome other chiefs, would ſo effectually repreſent the unfair dealing of Shukelemy, and his partiſans in council, that he did not doubt to induce him and them totally to finiſh this buſineſs on Monday next, maugre all the inſinuations and miſrepreſentations agitated by the enemies of Maryland; and indeed Mr. Interpreter proved ſucceſsful, as is evident in the tranſactions of Monday, and may be ſeen in the printed treaty.

Monday, July the 2d, 1744, A. M.

The honourable commiſſioners of Maryland, with Mr. Weiſer, met at the houſe of George Sanderſon, in this town, when the ſeveral chiefs, who had not ſigned the deed of releaſe, and renunciation of their claim to lands in Maryland, did now cheerfully, and without any heſitation, execute the ſame, in the preſence of the commiſſioners, and Mr. Weiſer; which latter they cauſed to ſign and deliver it on behalf of a nation not preſent, both with his Indian name of Tarachiawagon, and that of Weiſer. Thus we happily effected the purchaſe of the lands in Maryland, by the dexterous management of the interpreter, notwithſtanding the ſtorm on Saturday, that threatened to blaſt our meaſures; and hereby gained not only ſome hundred thouſand acres of land to Lord Baltimore, who had no good right to them before this releaſe, but an undiſturbed and quiet enjoyment of them to the ſeveral poſſeſſors, who, in fact, had bought of that Lord's agent.

The names of the chiefs, who ſigned and delivered the deed, were,

Cannaſateego, Tacanoontia, Johnuhat, Caxhayion, Toruchdadon, Netokanyhak, and Rotierawuchto, ſachems of the Onondago nation.

Saguchſonyunt, Gachradodon, Hutaſalyakon, Rowanhohiſo, Oſochquah, and Seyenties, ſachems of the Cahugäes.

Swadamy, alias Shukelemy, Onichnaxqua, Onochkalydawy, alias Watſatuha, Tohaſhwanrarorows, Aughhoſththaw, and Tiorhaaſery, ſachems of the Oneydöes.

Sidowax, Attiuſgu, Tuweiadachquha, ſachems of the Tuſcarorões.

Tanaſanego,

Tanaſanegos, and Tanachiuntus, chiefs of the Senikers, or Senecäes.

The deed was delivered by Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings, on his return to Annapolis, to his clerk, Mr. Richard Burdus, who recorded it among the land records, in the provincial court office of Maryland, in libro. E. I. fo. 8, 9, 10, 11.

This morning the Governor met the Indians on buſineſs, and Cannaſateego anſwered his Honour's ſpeech made to the Indians on Thurſday laſt, relating to the murder of John Armſtrong and his two men, Indian traders. The chief ſaid, "That the Indians were, from the bottom "of their hearts, very ſorry ſuch a misfortune had hap-"pened; but hoped their brother Onas would dry up his "tears, and wipe his eyes: That they would ſend the two "Delawares down to Philadelphia, who were ſuſpected to "be, and charged as acceſſaries to the murder, though they "really believed them guiltleſs; for they aſſured the Gov-"ernor, that on the trial of the Indian in Philadelphia gaol, "committed for perpetrating Armſtrong's and his men's "murder, it would appear, that he was the ſole perſon "who did the horrid deed: however, to comply with the "Governor's requeſt, they would ſend the Delawares, "(but not as priſoners) to be examined and tried; and if "they were found guilty, to ſuffer as the Engliſh law pre-"ſcribes; but if innocent, then to return them ſafe to the "Six Nations." His Honour, in return, ſaid, "That "great care ſhould be taken to do the Delawares all the "juſtice in the world: and if, upon a fair trial, they "ſhould be acquitted, he would ſend them in ſafety to "their own homes."

The Indians gave the Governor four ſtrings of wampum, and he, in return, preſented them with three ſtrings. But for a more particular account of Armſtrong and his men's murder, ſee the treaty at large.

In the afternoon, the honourable commiſſioners of Virginia had a conference with the Indians in the court-houſe chamber, when a deed, in the nature of ours, releaſing their claim to a large quantity of land, lying in that colony, was produced by Mr. Weiſer to the ſachems for execution, which was ſigned and delivered by them in the preſence of divers gentlemen of the three colonies, who were witneſſes

witneſſes to the ſame. Wine and ſangree was preſented to the chiefs, who drank to the continuation of the friendſhip betwixt them, and his Majeſty's ſubjects in Virginia. After the deed was executed, Cannaſateego commanded the young Indian men, then preſent, to entertain the Governor and commiſſioners, in the evening, with a particular dance, according to the cuſtom of their nations; which was complied with about 8 o'clock. Before they performed the dance, I went to their camp, where I ſaw the young warriors paint themſelves in a frightful manner, and on their heads place a great quantity of feathers. They took arrows and tomahawks in their hands, and then unanimouſly ran out of their camp, hallooing and ſhrieking (which was terrible to us, being ſtrangers) up the ſtreet to Mr. Cookſon's, where the Governor was; and there they made a ring, a perſon being placed in it, and danced round him to a horrid noiſe, made by the incloſed perſon, and the others. In this manner they continued ſome time, flouriſhing their weapons, and ſtriving to deſtroy him in the ring. When they had acted thus about ſeven or eight minutes, then their captain ran before them, very ſwift, to another place, about twenty or thirty yards diſtance from Mr. Cookſon's, and there acted the ſame over again. This was a repreſentation of the Indians beſieging a fort of their enemies, (who have no cannon) the perſon in the midſt of the circle repreſenting the fort beſieged, and the Indians encircling him, the beſiegers: and as it happens ſometimes, that they are beaten from a fort when beſieging it, ſo their running away, as deſcribed above, was the manner of their retreat. As ſoon as the Indians recovered their fatigue, they renewed the attack of the ſuppoſed fort. When they had finiſhed the ſiege, and the Governor and commiſſioners had treated them with ſangree, they immediately retired to their wigwams.

Tueſday, 3d July, 1744.

At 11 o'clock, this morning, the Governor, and all the honourable commiſſioners, had a meeting with the Six Nations in the court-houſe, when his Honour made a ſpeech to them, as did the commiſſioners of Virginia and Maryland; and each party preſented ſtrings and belts of wampum;

wampum; on receipt of which, the Indians gave the uſual cry of approbation, and in a ſtronger and more cheerful tone than heretofore. They were ſerved with plenty of rum at the concluſion of the ſpeeches, and drank it with a good *goût*.

Wedneſday, 4th July, 1744.

The Indian chiefs aſſembled in the court-houſe, and the Governor and commiſſioners met them there, when the ſpeeches made yeſterday, by the latter gentlemen, were anſwered by the Indian orators. After this, the chiefs made a preſent of a large bundle of deer-ſkins to his Honour, the commiſſioners of Virginia, and to thoſe of Maryland, which were kindly accepted. The Governor, commiſſioners of Virginia, and the white byſtanders, gave three loud huzzas, and thereby put an end to the treaty in regard to them.

In the Afternoon. Court-Houſe.

The Shawaneſe nation of Indians, who compoſe the ſixth body amongſt theſe Indians, in the year 1742, came down to Maryland, on the eaſtern ſhore of that province, to a nation of our friendly Indians, and tributary to the Six Nations, called the Nanticokes, from inhabiting near a river of that name; and, by their artifices, perſuaded them to riſe upon the Engliſh, to recover all the lands that had been formerly theirs, but now poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, under Lord Baltimore; at the ſame time promiſing the Nanticokes all the aſſiſtance in the power of them, the Shawaneſe, though they were in perfect friendſhip with us, by the treaty made during the adminiſtration of the Hon. Charles Calvert, Eſq. who, giving ear, but too unwarily, to the Shawaneſe, did intend to have put in practice the wicked ſcheme of deſtroying the white inhabitants of that ſhore; but their machinations were opportunely diſcovered, by one of the Nanticoke chiefs, a day or two before they were to have perpetrated the intended murders of the Engliſh. Upon this, the militia of the counties were raiſed; who, after a great and cloſe ſearch, took 68 Nanticoke chiefs priſoners, with old Panquaſh, their emperor; and they were brought to Annapolis in ſloops, and there examined and confined, but afterwards ſet at liberty. As theſe actions of the Shawaneſe (who, indeed, are the

moſt

moſt diſhoneſt and treacherous of all the other Six Nations, and for that reaſon hated by them) were contrary to the treaties then ſubſiſting betwixt us, and them as a part of the Six Nations, the commiſſioners took an opportunity, in a private conference with them this afternoon, "to aſk "them the reaſon of the Shawneſe's procedure, and wheth- "er they had any countenance from other nations? and "alſo deſired the chiefs, then preſent, to ſearch this buſi- "neſs fully, and reprimand the criminal Shawneſe, who "were more blameable than the deluded Nanticokes." The Six Nations, by their orator, ſaid, "that they were "heartily ſorry for what the Shawaneſe had done; but, "on their return to Onondago, they would make a ſtrict "inquiry of the whole affair; and if they found them ſo "culpable as we alleged they were, then they would ſe- "verely reprimand them for their treacherous behaviour, "contrary to the faith of treaties." When this anſwer was finiſhed, our commiſſioners ſhook the ſeveral chiefs by the hand, and took their leaves of them, preſenting Gachradodon with a fine laced hat.

This Gachradodon is a very celebrated warrior, and one of the Cahuga chiefs, about forty years of age, tall, ſtraight-limbed, and a graceful perſon, but not ſo fat as Cannaſateego. His action, when he ſpoke, was certainly the moſt graceful, as well as bold, that any perſon ever ſaw; without the buffoonery of the French, or over-ſolemn deportment of the haughty Spaniards. When he made the complimentary ſpeech (page 194) on the occaſion of giving Lord Baltimore the name of Tocaryhogon, he was complimented by the Governor, who ſaid, "that he would have made a good figure in the forum of old Rome." And Mr. Commiſſioner Jenings declared, "that he had never ſeen ſo juſt an action in any of the moſt celebrated orators he had heard ſpeak."

Thurſday, 5th July, 1744.

This morning, Mr. Peters, ſecretary to the Governor, Mr. Black, ſecretary to the honourable commiſſioners of Virginia, and myſelf, examined the whole treaty, and finiſhed all matters any way relating to it. At 12, Colonels Colvill and King, with the Virginia commiſſioners, ſettled

our

our accounts with Mr. Worrall. Here we dined, and immediately afterwards mounted our horſes, and went from this filthy town to our kind, facetious landlord's, Mr. Hughes, at Nottingham townſhip, by the Gap-Road, ſo called from a ſpace or gap being open in the ridge of blue mountains, which extend a great way to the ſouth-weſtward of Virginia, and north-eaſtward of Pennſylvania.

I was ſo fatigued with my journey, which was forty-four miles, and the weather was ſo very ſultry, withal, having no good accommodations on the road, that ſeveral of us were ſeized with a fever. Lay at Mr. Hughes's, where good care was taken of me by my kind hoſt.

Friday, 6th July, 1744.

Breakfaſted at Mr. Hughes's; and about eight in the morning ſet out for Mr. Benjamin Chew's, in Cecil county, after having taken leave of the honourable commiſſioners of Virginia, and the ſeveral young gentlemen of that colony, with the latter of whom I had contracted a friendſhip, and received many civilities from them. My horſe tired in my journey to Mr. Chew's, though it was but ten miles. Here I reſted this day and night, my fever continuing, and my horſe ſtill remaining lame.

Saturday, 7th of July, 1744.

Went from Mr. Chew's about ſix this morning: croſſed the lower ferry of Suſquehannah: baited at Mr. Treadway's ordinary, and arrived at Joppa about 11 o'clock. Ferried from thence over Gunpowder river to Mr. Day's, where I dined. From hence proceeded to Baltimore town, where I reſted at the Reverend Mr. Benedict Boutdillon's; ſtaid and drank tea with him and his lady, and then went over Potapſcoe river to Mrs. Hughes's ordinary, where I lodged this night.

Sunday, 8th July, 1744.

After breakfaſt, about ſix this morning, went from hence to Annapolis, with Mr. William Dallam, and arrived there at ten o'clock.

The end of my Journal.

WITHAM MARSHE,
Sec'ry to the Hon. Commiſ. of Maryland.

A LIST OF THE SEVERAL PUBLIC OFFICES, ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS, AND OTHER PLACES OF PROFIT, IN THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND, WITH THEIR REVENUES; IN WHOSE DISTRIBUTION, AS A PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

CHARLES Lord Baltimore, Proprietor.

		Sterl.
Gift of the Proprietor.	Governor, appointed by Proprietor, approved by his Majesty, - -	£.1550.
	But if the government was in the hands of the Crown, the Governor would receive more, - - - -	500.
Proprietor.	Commissary-General, his office, worth	900.
Proprietor.	Secretary's office, - - - -	800.
Proprietor.	Six naval offices, at £.150 each, - -	900.
Proprietor, by his Governor.	Thirteen Shrievalties, at £.200 each, ☞ These are thriving offices, and in time of peace are worth more than £.200 per ann. com. annis.	2600.
Gift of the Secretary.	Thirteen County Clerkships, grantable for life, at £.115 per ann. but more in peaceable times, - - - -	1495.
Lds. of the Treasury.	Collectorship for the district of Patuxent, ☞ There are 3 others, but know not their value.	300.
	Four Deputy-Collectorships, in the gift of the several Collectors, - - -	100.
	Three Trustees or Commissioners of the Loan Office, appointed by the Gov.	120.
	Their Clerk's salary, - - - -	40.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.

	Thirty-seven Parishes, in the Proprietor's gift, at £.120 each, - - - - - - -	4440.

Note. If the clergy are once inducted, no one can turn them out, let their behaviour be ever so scandalous, for there is no spiritual court, nor has any Bishop power to control them in Maryland, the Proprietor being head of the church, &c.

Carried over, £. 13745.

	Brought over,	£. 13745.
Treaſurers of the two ſhores,	- - -	250.
Clerkſhip of the Council,	- - - -	160.
Clerkſhip of the Houſe of Delegates, in their gift,		50.
Armory-Keeper, ſalary, net,	- - - -	40.
Regiſter of the Commiſſary-General, in his gift,		80.
Clerkſhip of the Secretary's office, in the Sec'ry's gift,		65.
		£. 14390.

Beſides the places and benefices here particularly enumerated, there are ſundry ſmall gifts of profit, which, in the whole, may amount to a conſiderable ſum.

UNION OF THE BRITISH AMERICAN COLONIES, AS PROPOSED IN THE YEAR 1754.

PLAN* of a propoſed union of the ſeveral colonies of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, New-Hampſhire, Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, New-York, and New-Jerſey, for their mutual defence and ſecurity, and for extending the Britiſh ſettlements northward and weſtward of ſaid colonies, in North-America; recommended by commiſſioners from ſeveral colonies, met in congreſs, at Albany, June 14, 1754.

Preſent,

Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, Meſſrs. Murray, Johnſon, Chambers, & Smith,	New-York.
Meſſrs. Welles, Hutchinſon, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington,	Maſſachuſetts-Bay.
Meſſrs. Wibird, Atkinſon, Weare, and Sherburne,	New-Hampſhire.
Lieut. Gov. Pitkin, Maj. Wooleot, and Col. Williams,	Connecticut.
Meſſrs. Hopkins and Howard,	Rhode-Iſland.
Meſſrs. Penn, Peters, Norris, and Franklin,	Pennſylvania.
Col. Taſker and Maj. Barnes,	Maryland.

That humble application be made for an act of the Parliament of Great-Britain, by virtue of which one general Union

* There was another plan propoſed, which embraced all the colonies of North-America, except Georgia and Nova-Scotia.

Union may be formed, including all the ſaid colonies; within and notwithſtanding which union, each of ſaid colonies ſhall and may hold and maintain its preſent conſtitution, except the particulars wherein a change or alteration may be directed by ſaid act, as hereafter follows, viz.

That in the ſaid general union, the ordering and direction of the affairs thereof be adminiſtered by one Preſident-General, who ſhall be the Governor of the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay for the time being; and a Grand Council to be choſen by the repreſentatives of the people of the ſaid colonies, met in their reſpective aſſemblies.

That within months after the paſſing ſuch act, the Houſe of Repreſentatives in the ſeveral aſſemblies that happen to be ſetting at that time, or that ſhall be ſpecially convened for that purpoſe, may and ſhall chooſe members for the Grand Council in the following proportions, that is to ſay,

Maſſachuſetts-Bay -	7	New-Hampſhire - -	3
Connecticut - -	4	Rhode-Iſland - - -	2
New-York - - -	4	New-Jerſey - - -	3
		In all,	23

Who ſhall meet, for the firſt time, at the town of Boſton, in New-England, at ſuch time as ſhall be appointed by the Preſident-General, and whereof the members of the Grand Council ſhall be duly notified, as ſoon as conveniently may be, after an act of Parliament for this purpoſe is paſſed, and the ſeveral colonies duly acquainted thereof.

That the members of the Grand Council ſhall be newly elected and choſen, by the Repreſentatives in the ſeveral aſſemblies, every three years; and on the death or reſignation of any member, his place ſhall be ſupplied by a new choice, at the next ſitting of the aſſembly of the colony he repreſented.

That the Grand Council ſhall meet once in every year, and oftener, if occaſion require, at ſuch time and place as they ſhall adjourn to, at their laſt preceding meeting; or as they ſhall be called to meet at, by the Preſident-General, on any emergency, he having firſt obtained, in writing, the conſent of five of the members to ſuch call; or, on application made to the Preſident-General by ten of the Grand Council,

Council, in writing, under their hands, to have a meeting called, he ſhall ſend due and timely notice to the whole.

That the Grand Council ſhall neither be diſſolved, prorogued, nor continued ſitting, longer than four weeks at one time, without their own conſent, or the ſpecial command of the Crown.

That the Preſident-General ſhall have a caſting voice, whenever an equi-vote ſhall happen in the Grand Council.

That a quorum of the Grand Council, to act with the Preſident-General, do conſiſt of twelve members, among whom there ſhall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

That the Grand Council ſhall annually grant a ſalary, to be allowed and paid to the Preſident-General, for his ſervices, not exceeding the ſum of £. ſterling.

That the members of the Grand Council ſhall be allowed, for their ſervice, 10*s.* ſterling per diem, during their ſeſſions and jouurney to and from the place of meeting, twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

That in caſe of the death of the Preſident-General, the Lieut. Governor of the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay ſhall preſide, and be veſted with the ſame powers and authorities, till the arrival of a new Governor for ſaid colony.

That the Preſident-General, with the Grand Council, ſummoned and aſſembled for that purpoſe, or a quorum of them as aforeſaid, ſhall hold and direct all Indian treaties, in which the general intereſt or welfare of theſe colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations; that they make ſuch rules and orders, with pains and puniſhments annexed thereto, as they judge neceſſary, for regulating all Indian trade; that they direct and order the ways and means, neceſſary and beneficial to ſupport and maintain the ſafety and intereſts of theſe colonies, againſt all their common enemies; that they make all purchaſes from Indians, for the Crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that ſhall not be within their bounds, when the extenſion of ſome of them are rendered more certain.

That they make new ſettlements on ſuch purchaſes, by granting lands in the King's name, reſerving a quit-rent to the Crown for the uſe of the general treaſury.

That

That they make neceſſary rules and orders for the well regulating and managing ſuch new ſettlements, till the Crown ſhall think fit to form them into particular government or governments.

That they agree and conclude the number of men, and ſums of money, that ſhall, from time to time, be needed to be raiſed and paid for the purpoſes aforementioned; and when the Preſident-General and Grand Council ſhall conclude and agree on any number of men, and ſum of money, needed on any occaſion, they ſhall notify the ſame to each of the Aſſemblies of ſaid colonies, by ſending an account thereof to the reſpective Governors of each of ſaid colonies, to be communicated to their Aſſemblies, recommending it to each colony to raiſe their quota of men, and levy, collect, and pay their proportion of money, according to the proportion herein before ſettled for members to be choſen for the Grand Council from each colony; which may be done, in each colony, in ſuch manner and form, as to them appears equal and right.

That the Preſident-General be the general or chief commander of all the forces raiſed by virtue of this union; and that it be his office and duty to cauſe the acts, rules, and orders, made and concluded by virtue hereof, to be carried into execution; and he ſhall commiſſion all the general officers that are needed, who ſhall be nominated to him by the Grand Council; and he ſhall commiſſion the other commiſſion officer or officers, that ſhall be needed, who ſhall be nominated to him by the Aſſembly of that colony, whoſe ſoldiers are to be commanded by ſuch officer or officers.

That the Preſident-General and Grand Council of theſe United Colonies may appoint a general treaſurer, and a particular treaſurer in each government, when neceſſary; and, from time to time, may order the ſums in the particular treaſuries, by them appointed in each government, into the general treaſury, or draw on them for ſpecial payments, as they find moſt convenient; yet no money to iſſue but by joint orders of the Preſident-General and Grand Council, except where ſums have been appropriated to particular purpoſes, and the Preſident-General previouſly empowered by an order to draw for ſuch ſums.

That

That the general accounts ſhall be yearly ſettled and reported to the ſeveral Aſſemblies.

That the particular military, as well as civil, eſtabliſhments and conſtitutions of each colony, remain firm and entire, without any other change or alteration than is herein before mentioned, this general union notwithſtanding.

And further, it is propoſed, that there be a union made by an act of the parliament of Great-Britain; by virtue whereof, one general union may be formed, including the ſeveral colonies of Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina; the affairs whereof, in relation to matters and things of the like nature to what is herein before compriſed, to be ordered, directed, and adminiſtered, in the like manner and form as is herein before mentioned.

And further, it is propoſed, that on any ſpecial emergency, and extraordinary occaſion, wherein it may be thought needful, there may be juſt rules and directions made and given, wherein all the ſaid colonies, herein before propoſed to be united, in the more northern part of America, and thoſe propoſed to be united in the more ſouthern part of North-America, may act in concert againſt the common enemy, in the beſt and moſt advantageous manner.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE, CHOSEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF CONNECTICUT, RESPECTING THE FORE-GOING PLAN OF UNION.

To the Honourable General Aſſembly, ſitting at New-Haven, October, 1754.

WE, your Honours' committee, appointed to take into conſideration the propoſed plan for an union of his Majeſty's governments in North-America, to give our opinion thereon, and the reaſons of ſuch our opinion, &c. humbly report on the premiſes, viz.

Having duly and maturely conſidered ſaid plan, we are of opinion, that the ſame has a tendency greatly to weaken and injure his Majeſty's intereſt, and that it is ſubverſive of the

the juſt rights and privileges of his good and faithful ſubjects inhabiting his dominions on this continent; and for ſuch our opinion, we, with much ſubmiſſion, offer the following reaſons.

1. We find his Majeſty's territories, from the ſouth-weſt part of Georgia to Menis, is more than ſeventeen hundred miles; of which, from the head of St. John's (which we ſuppoſe to be the north-eaſt extent of the Maſſachuſetts province) to the Apilachi mountains, (which we ſuppoſe to be the ſouth-weſt extent of the colony of South-Carolina,) is, on the frontiers by land, about fifteen hundred miles; which laſt extent is all within the limits of the propoſed plan of union, ſo that the preſident-general and council have to provide for this large extent of frontiers; and ſhould Georgia and Nova-Scotia, when able to aſſiſt, be added, it makes the ſame yet greater. The ſea-coaſt, we find, varies very little from the extent by land; and we think it impracticable that his Majeſty's intereſt, and the good of his people, inhabiting ſo great a country, can, in any advantageous or tolerable manner, be conſidered and conducted by the propoſed preſident-general and council.

2. The preſident-general and council having authority to nominate and commiſſionate all military commiſſion officers, we apprehend, will be highly diſadvantageous to his Majeſty's intereſt. Under this head we conſider that our officers generally are choſen out of the beſt yeomen of this colony, who live on their own lands, in peace and plenty; but have ever been ready to ſerve their country in the field, when called: their commiſſions have always been prepared and delivered into their hands gratis. Under theſe officers, thus choſen and commiſſionated, freeholders' ſons, the youth of this colony, have on all occaſions, with great cheerfulneſs and alacrity, generally enliſted; and their country's good (not neceſſity) has led them to arms. Now, ſhould officers be ſent from abroad, we are fully ſatisfied, ſuch youth would not enliſt; and to preſs theſe generous young men into ſervice will be not only hard and grievous, but in all probability will greatly diſhearten and diſpirit them, and this, we conclude, is very much the caſe in other his Majeſty's provinces and colonies on the continent.

3. His

3. His Majeſty's ſubjects, now inhabiting this country, are a very great body; and in every twenty-five years the increaſe of inhabitants is ſo great, they are ſuppoſed to become double. This power and ſtrength being brought into one point, all to move under the direction of ſaid preſident-general and council, we fear, may in time be of dangerous conſequence to his Majeſty's intereſt, and the good of his loyal ſubjects here.

4. Further, we apprehend his Majeſty's intereſt is in great danger from the preſident-general's having a negative voice; for if it ever be, that that officer ſhould not well underſtand or purſue proper methods for the country's good, all may be ruined before relief can be had from the throne; and it ſeems to us, that the Grand Council are moſt likely to underſtand the true intereſt and weal of this people.

5. We think the propoſal, in ſaid plan contained, for the Preſident-General and Council to lay and levy taxes, &c. as they pleaſe, throughout this territory, is a very extraordinary thing, and againſt the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen in general; *and ſuch an innovation or breach on charter privileges, we fear, will greatly diſcourage and diſhearten his Majeſty's good ſubjects.* All which, with a draught for a union, delivered in herewith, is humbly ſubmitted, by

Your Honours' committee,

Wm. Pitkin.
Jonath. Trumble.
Joſeph Fowle.
Joſeph Pitkin.
Jabez Hamlin.
John Hubbard.
Theoph. Nichols.
John Ledyard.

THE REASONS CONSIDERED AND OFFERED, BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, CONCERNING THE PLAN OF UNION THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES IN NORTH-AMERICA, WHO MET AT ALBANY ON THE 14TH JUNE, 1754, HAVE PROPOSED FOR UNITING THE SAID COLONIES INTO ONE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, FOR THE PURPOSES THEREIN EXPRESSED, ARE AS FOLLOWS.

1. THE limits of the propoſed plan of union are of too large extent; from Nova-Scotia on the north, to Georgia on the ſouth, is fifteen hundred miles; ſo that the Preſident-General and Grand Council muſt have to provide for this large extent of frontiers; and this plan ſeems calculated only to render this general government, therein propoſed, capable to defend againſt the French, and to proclaim war, and make peace with the Indians. Now it ſeems plain, that it is impracticable that his Majeſty's intereſt, and the good of his people inhabiting ſo great a country, with frontiers of ſo great length, can be advantageouſly defended, or in any good manner conſidered and conducted, by the propoſed Preſident-General and Council: and it may be juſtly obſerved here, that a defenſive war, on the part of this government, with ſo large a frontier, will prove detrimental and ruinous to it; while the French have it in their power, at any time, as well in a time of peace, as of a war, to ſend out ſmall parties of their Indians, to ſkulk about in the woods, and fall upon, and ſurpriſe any part of the frontiers; and with but little hazard to themſelves, and ſmall expenſe, keep this propoſed government in a continued alarm, in one or other part thereof, and put them to vaſt expenſe to defend themſelves, and thereby weaken, impoveriſh, and greatly diſhearten the King's ſubjects in every part of this large extent of frontiers; while the enemy will be encouraged, and grow ſtrong and wealthy. This, indeed, cannot be remedied, but by carrying the war into the enemy's country, for which this plan makes no proviſion.

2. The Preſident-General and Council to have authority to nominate and commiſſion all military officers, will be highly detrimental to his Majeſty's intereſt; as it cannot

not be apprehended that they can be well acquainted, in the various parts of ſo large a government, with the perſons who will beſt ſerve to encourage ſoldiers to enliſt, and who may conduct them with prudence, and encourage their hearts. It hath hitherto been practiſed in the New-England governments to appoint officers out of their beſt yeomen, who live in good circumſtances on their own property in lands; and when choſen freely, and without any application of their own for ſuch offices, and receive their commiſſions gratis, they look on themſelves obliged, and are always ready, to ſerve their country in the field, when thus called thereto; and under ſuch officers, well known and eſteemed among the people, freeholders' ſons, not moved by neceſſity, but their country's good, generally have enliſted with cheerfulneſs and alacrity. Now, ſhould officers be ſent among them from abroad, and to whom they are ſtrangers, it is plain ſuch youth will not enliſt; and to preſs ſuch generous young men into ſervice, muſt be not only hard and grievous, but very much diſhearten and diſpirit them: and this, no doubt, will prove the caſe in other of the American colonies, as well as of thoſe in New-England.

3. His Majeſty's ſubjects, now inhabiting this large and extenſive country, take them collectively, are become a very great number; and, through the ſmiles of divine Providence hitherto, are greatly increaſed, and it is ſuppoſed to become double in every twenty-five years: now this growing power and ſtrength to be brought into one point, all to move under the direction of ſuch Preſident-General and Council, may in time be of dangerous conſequence to his Majeſty's intereſt, and the good of his loyal ſubjects here.

4. The Preſident-General to have a negative voice on the Council, may bring his Majeſty's intereſt into danger: That officer, in ſo extenſive a territory, not well underſtanding, or carefully purſuing proper methods for the country's good, all may be ruined before relief can be had from the throne; and in a country, where the greateſt encouragement to go through the hardſhip and fatigue of a new ſettlement is the hope of enjoying liberty, and ſecuring a ſmall property in land to themſelves, every thing

that

that doth make any encroachment thereon will diſcourage the people, and thereby injure his Majeſty's intereſt: And it ſeems the Council, from the reſpective colonies, are moſt likely to underſtand the true intereſt and weal of the people.

5. The propoſal, in ſaid plan contained, for the Preſident-General and Council to lay and levy taxes, &c. as they pleaſe, throughout this extenſive government, is a very extraordinary thing, and againſt the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen, which is eſteemed, and highly prized by the people of theſe colonies, who have now a due ſenſe of their dependence on their mother country, and delight in obedience to, and admire the protection and privileges of, the laws of England; which, with the ſpecial favours and charter privileges to them granted, and hitherto kept ſacred and inviolate, have encouraged the people inhabiting here, at their own great expenſe, induſtry, and hazard of their lives as well as fortunes, to ſettle, plant, and cultivate theſe remote places; and it is not to be doubted, that any great innovations, or breach of their original charters and conſtitutions, will greatly diſcourage the induſtry of the inhabitants, who are jealous of their privileges; and, while they are ſecured, are zealous to ſecure his Majeſty's dominions here, and purſue the enlargement thereof.

At this place, it may be worthy obſervation, that heavy taxes on the inhabitants, of the northern colonies eſpecially, muſt be attended with grievous complaints from the main body of the people, who are not well furniſhed with money, and not able to carry on any conſiderable trade abroad, thereby to bring home *money*, more than is abſolutely neceſſary to carry on their ordinary affairs; being principally employed in clearing, fencing, and cultivating their lands, and fitting them for future more profitable improvements; and from their firſt ſettlement have had the barbarous natives of the country frequently making war upon them, and their reſtleſs French neighbours ſetting on the Indians, in a barbarous manner, to kill or captivate the people, and that even in times of peace; which hath occaſioned a very great expenſe, and loaded theſe colonies with a heavy debt, and brought on the neceſſity of creating and iſſuing bills of public credit; which, through their

their weakneſs and poverty, they were not able ſeaſonably to ſink and diſcharge, and thereby leſſened credit in theſe parts; from which diſadvantages, theſe colonies are not quite freed to this day; and although they are well ſpirited to ſecure and defend all his Majeſty's territories in North-America, and therein to lay themſelves out to their utmoſt ability; yet, to bring on themſelves large and heavy taxes, more than they are well able to pay, muſt occaſion grievous complaints, and prove very diſcouraging.

For theſe reaſons, more largely inſiſted on, and diſcourſed at the congreſs of the commiſſioners in Albany, in June laſt—The gentlemen, who went commiſſioners from the colony of Connecticut, objected to the propoſed plan; and thought they were never anſwered or obviated, and therefore never came into, or gave any conſent to the ſame.

And in addition hereunto, it is further to be conſidered and alleged, that the people of this colony, from their firſt ſettlement to this day, in their general aſſemblies, by their acts and reſolutions therein made and paſſed, have ſhewn true loyalty, and ſincere diſpoſition to promote his Majeſty's intereſt; and have always yielded cheerful obedience to his Majeſty's commands; and have readily given aſſiſtance and aid to any of his Majeſty's colonies, when the ſame hath been requeſted; and ſtill remain in the ſame good diſpoſition, and readily to conform to his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, ſignified to this colony by the Right Honourable the Earl of Holderneſs. The laſt paragraph of his letter to this colony, dated Auguſt 28, 1753, is in the following words, viz.

"And whereas it may be greatly conducive to his Majeſty's ſervice, that all his provinces in America ſhould be aiding and aſſiſting each other, in caſe of any invaſion, I have it particularly in charge from his Majeſty, to acquaint you, that it is his royal will and pleaſure, that you ſhould keep up an exact correſpondence with all his Majeſty's Governors on the continent; and in caſe you ſhall be informed, by any of them, of any hoſtile attempt, you are immediately to aſſemble the general aſſembly within your government, and lay before them the neceſſity of a mutual aſſiſtance, and engage them to grant ſuch ſupplies as the exigency of affairs may require."

It

It may juſtly be alleged and conſidered, that the ſecuring the five nations or cantons of Indians, ſubject to his Majeſty's dominions, and maintaining a peaceable and friendly diſpoſition in them towards the people inhabiting theſe colonies, is of very great importance, and the principal good end that may be ſerved by ſaid propoſed plan, by regulating the Indian trade, and bringing it under due management; which may be better ſerved by commiſſioners of his Majeſty's appointment, with powers and authorities to regulate and manage the trade with ſaid Indians, and the other natives who are in friendſhip with them, and to make ſuch rules and orders, with pains and penalties annexed thereto, as they ſhall judge neceſſary, and to ſee the ſame duly executed; and to hear, conſider, and find means and ways to redreſs the grievances and complaints of ſaid Indians; the neceſſity of which appears by the repreſentation made at Albany, when the commiſſioners were preſent; And alſo to build forts needful for the defence of ſuch Indians, and ſecurity of the trade with them, and keep them ſufficiently garriſoned; the charge whereof may be principally defrayed by the profits of ſuch trade, when well regulated and managed.

And if his Majeſty ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to encourage his ſubjects to ſettle and plant a government or colony on ſuch lands, in their country, as the Indians will readily ſell, to be formed and conducted as the New-England colonies have been, nothing would tend more to ſecure thoſe Indians to his Majeſty's intereſt, and attach their friendſhip to the Engliſh, and prevent the encroachments of the French; and ſo the great ends propoſed effectually anſwered, without any diſcouragement to the people of theſe colonies, and without the leaſt prejudice or injury to their privileges.

General Aſſembly at New-Haven, Thurſday, Oct. 2d, 1754.

In the Upper Houſe. The foregoing reaſons, concerning the Plan of Union, &c. were read, conſidered, and approved, and ordered to lie on file in the Secretary's office. Teſt. GEORGE WYLLYS, Sec'ry.

In the Lower Houſe, concurred.

Teſt. E. CHAUNCEY, Clerk.

PETITIONS, &c. FROM MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, IN BOSTON, RESPECTING BISHOPS.

Boſton, December 8, 1713.

To the honourable Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign Parts.

The Repreſentation and Requeſt of the Miniſters, Church-Wardens, and Veſtry of the Church of England, in Boſton.

WE are informed by the Hon. General Nicholſon, a moſt worthy member of your honourable Society, and a moſt generous benefactor to the church in theſe parts, that your honourable Society have laid before her Majeſty a particular ſcheme of ſettlement for Biſhops in theſe American parts: and as nothing can contribute more to the flouriſhing ſtate of religion among us, we have made our humble addreſs to her moſt ſacred Majeſty upon that head; and would humbly intreat ſome of the members of your honourable Society to be our remembrancers to her Majeſty in that behalf; and that Almighty God may bleſs and proſper all your pious endeavours for the good of his church, and bleſs you for theſe endeavours, is the hearty prayer of your moſt obedient and moſt devoted humble ſervants,

J. N.	J. B.	J. D.	
T. B.	T. N.	W. T.	
J. H.	W. P.	S. M.	Miniſters.
J. V.	C. S.	H. H.	
J. C.	G. G.	C. H.	Church-
	G. D.	J. J.	Wardens.
		J. R.	
		C. M.	

To the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Miniſters, Church-Wardens, and Veſtry of the Church of England, in Boſton, New-England.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

YOUR royal goodneſs being extended to all, even the remoteſt part of your Majeſty's dominions, we take this opportunity

opportunity of expreſſing our humble, though imperfect thanks to your Majeſty, for the many bleſſings we have enjoyed in the courſe of your glorious reign. Such was your Majeſty's care of us, during the war, that our trade was in a great meaſure, by the happy reduction of the important fortreſs of Port Royal, under the auſpicious conduct of General Nicholſon; and now that honourable and advantageous peace, which your Majeſty has concluded, does mightily increaſe our happineſs, by delivering us from the violence of barbarous ſavages, who continually infeſted our country, and acted unheard-of cruelties. To complete, we humbly intreat your Majeſty to provide for our ſpiritual concerns, and to eſtabliſh Biſhops and biſhopricks within your Majeſty's plantations in America. We are informed by General Nicholſon, whoſe piety, generoſity, and zeal for the church we cannot ſufficiently commend, that the honourable Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, have laid before your Majeſty the particular manner of the Biſhops' reſpective ſettlements. Since nothing can tend more to make religion flouriſh among us, we promiſe ourſelves that your Majeſty will take this affair into your royal conſideration; and that it may pleaſe Almighty God to grant your Majeſty a long and happy reign over us, and advance you to immortal glory hereafter, is the conſtant and fervent prayer of your Majeſty's moſt loyal, moſt dutiful, and moſt obedient ſubjects,

J. D.
W. T. &c.

THAT no repreſentations may prejudice the intereſts of our church in theſe parts, I have thought it expedient for me, at this juncture, to certify, that we have a very conſiderable number of people belonging to the church in this town of Boſton; and that I am humbly of opinion, the church here, and alſo in other parts of this province, would increaſe much more under a Governor that was a conſtant communicant thereof, from whom we might reaſonably expect all requiſite protection and encouragement.

This preſent Governor, Joſeph Dudley, Eſq. is a member of an independent church at Roxbury, where his dwelling is, and has communicated therefrom his firſt coming

ing to be Governor, and never communicated with us ſince the Rev. Mr. Harriſon's arrival here, (as he can inform) nor, to my certain knowledge, many years before, only this 25th of December laſt paſt he was at the communion, his Excellency Gen. Nicholſon then preſent.

I do alſo certify, that Colonel Vetch never received the communion with us here; and ſince his arrival from Annapolis-Royal, has been but once at church, and that in the morning only. This is all true to a tittle, and atteſted by

SAMUEL MYLES,
Preſbyter of the church of England.

Boſton, New-England, Feb. 17, 1713—14.

HAVING ſerved the church in this place, theſe five years laſt paſt, in conjunction with the Reverend Mr. Myles, I can certify the truth of the above-made relation ever ſince the time of my arrival here. In witneſs whereof I ſet my hand, HENRY HARRIS.

A repreſentation of ſeveral officers in the province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, in New-England, not belonging to the church of England; and a liſt of the names of the gentlemen that do belong to ſaid church.

Officers in public poſt.

Members of her Majeſty's Council. Judges of the Superior and Inferior Court. Secretary of the Province. Attorney-General. Treaſurer of the Province. Commiſſary-General for the War. Judges of Probate. High Sheriffs. Receiver of the Impoſt. Naval Officer. Clerks of Courts. Houſe of Repreſentatives. Officers of the Militia. Deputy Poſt-Maſter. Officers of the College.

Names of the gentlemen of the church.

The Hon. William Taylor, Eſq. Lieut. Governor, communicant, and ſerved as church-warden. Sir Charles Hobby, communicant and church-warden for the time being. John Nelſon. Francis Foxcroft. Edward Lloyd, communicant and church-warden. John Jerkyl, Eſq. communicant and church-warden for time being. Thomas Newton, communicant and church-warden. John Bridger, communicant.

communicant. Henry Mackentoſh, communicant. Charles Bleckenden, communicant. Mr. Thomas Baniſter, communicant. Capt. Cyprian Southack, communicant and church-warden. Capt. Wentworth Paxton. Mr. John Oulton, communicant. Mr. Savil Sympſon, communicant and church-warden. Mr. Giles Dyer, communicant. Mr. Joſeph Stearn. Mr. John Valentine, communicant. Ebenezer Mountforth. James Lyndall. Francis Brinly. Edward Mills. George Turfry, communicant and church-warden. James Smith. Job Lewis. John Treſor, communicant. William Rouſe. Anthony Blunt, communicant and church-warden. Edward Weaver, communicant. George Stuart. Thomas Lechmore. John Arburthnot. Thomas Sheapard. Joſeph Loyd. John Newdicate. Daniel Weyburn. John Powel. John Bearnard. Thomas Creeſe. George Tarrant. Henry Franklyn, communicant. Euſtace Hatch. John Chickley. William Patridge. Samuel Hill. Peter Butler. Richard Pullen. Thomas Selby, communicant. Richard Hall, communicant. Stephen North. Rowland Dyke. Henry Sharp. John Gibbs. Mr. Renner. Ambroſe Vincent, communicant. Roger Patiſſon, communicant. Stephen Labbie. John Johns.

Mr. Brown, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Sawyers, Mr. Merrill, *Newbury.*

We have omitted ſetting down a conſiderable number of our communicants, becauſe of ſmall figure, though good families in the town.

An account of the number of our congregation we have ſent to my Lord Biſhop of London, viz. 800; wherein we are well aſſured we have not exceeded.

Theſe petitions intercepted, but not delivered; ſaid to be found amongſt Sir Charles Hobby's papers, by Mr. Maſon, his adminiſtrator, and by him tranſmitted to Boſton.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WHOLE TRADE AND SHIPPING OF THE ISLAND OF NEWFOUNDLAND FOR THE YEAR 1799, TAKEN FROM THE CUSTOM-HOUSE BOOKS.

Imports.

Shipping.	Number of veſſels	349
	Number of tons	34,225
	Number of men	2,449
Hundred weight of bread and flour		44,215
Barrels of beef and pork		13,062
Hundred weight of butter and cheeſe		5,115
Buſhels of ſalt		566,201
Pounds of tea		38,017
Hundred weight of refined ſugar		97½
Hundred weight of Muſcovado ſugar		1,726
Gallons of molaſſes		168,104
Gallons of rum		168,936
Gallons of gin and brandy		9,431
Gallons of wine		20,787
Hogſheads of beer and cider		793
Pounds of coffee		9,856
Pounds of tobacco		120,663
Pounds of ſoap and candles		123,939
Chaldrons of coals		1,495
Barrels of pitch and tar		1,242
Thouſand feet of planks and boards		541,856
Thouſand of ſhingles		150
Number of maſts and ſpars		306
Number of bullocks and cows		417
Number of ſheep		505
Buſhels of Indian corn		1,437

Exports.

Shipping.	Number of veſſels	336
	Number of tons	33,503
	Number of men	2,410
Quintals of dry cod fiſh		453,337
Quintals of core fiſh		13,995
Tierces of ſalmon		2,642
Barrels of herrings		202
Tons of oil		3,017
Number of ſeal ſkins		74,181

NUMBER OF THE BRITISH SUBJECTS, MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, IN THE COLONIES OF NORTH-AMERICA, TAKEN FROM MILITIA ROLLS, POLL TAXES, BILLS OF MORTALITY, RETURNS FROM GOVERNORS, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC AUTHORITIES. FROM THE LONDON MAGAZINE, FOR MAY, 1755.

THE colonies of Halifax and Lunenburg in

Nova-Scotia	5000
New-Hampſhire	30000
Maſſachuſetts-Bay	220000
Rhode-Iſland and Providence	35000
Connecticut	100000
New-York	100000
The Jerſeys	60000
Pennſylvania,	250000
Maryland	85000
Virginia	85000
North-Carolina	45000
South-Carolina	30000
Georgia	6000
Total number	1,051000

Excluſive of the military forces in the pay of the government, and negroes.

A BILL FOR BETTER REGULATING OF CHARTER AND PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENTS IN AMERICA, AND FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE TRADE OF THIS KINGDOM AND OF HIS MAJESTY'S PLANTATIONS.

WHEREAS, by virtue of ſeveral Charters and Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of England, paſſed and granted by his Majeſty's royal predeceſſors, the ſeveral colonies, provinces, and plantations of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Carolina, and the Bahama or Lucay Iſlands, in America, have been granted unto ſeveral

eral perſons, whereby the grantees are not only made proprietors of the ſoil and lands comprehended in the ſaid places, but lords and governors thereof; and have ſuch large and unlimited powers, as have given them a pretence to aſſume abſolute government and authority over his Majeſty's ſubjects: And whereas the ſevering of ſuch power and authority from the Crown, and placing the ſame in the hands of the ſubjects, hath, by experience, been found prejudicial to the trade of this kingdom, and to the welfare and ſecurity of his Majeſty's ſubjects in theſe, as well as in the other plantations in America, and to his Majeſty's revenue ariſing from the cuſtoms, as well by reaſon of the diſability of the proprietors to defend and protect his Majeſty's ſubjects under the government, in caſe of any attempt of the Indians, or other enemy, as by the many irregularities committed by the governors of the ſaid proprietary governments, as by others in authority under them there:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That the King's Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, ſhall from the of have the ſole power and authority of governing the ſaid plantations and colonies, and every of them, and of appointing the governors, counſellors, judges, juſtices of the peace, and of all other officers for the adminiſtration and execution of juſtice there, and of pardoning offences there; the ſaid power and authority to be for ever united to the Imperial Crown of theſe realms, any grants, uſages, or other matter or thing to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Provided always, That nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to extend any ways to alter, or take away, diminiſh or abridge the right or title which any perſon, perſons, or bodies politic or corporate have, or lawfully may have or claim to any lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any other matter or thing (the authority and powers aformentioned only excepted) by virtue of the ſaid grants, or any other charter or letters patents, or by virtue of any right or title derived from or under ſuch grants, charters, or letters patents, by any mean, aſſignments, or conveyances,

conveyances, or otherwiſe howſoever. *Provided alſo*, That all ſuch laws, made in the ſaid reſpective plantations, which are now in force there, and have been confirmed and approved of by his Majeſty's predeceſſors, or by his Majeſty, or ſhall be hereafter confirmed by his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall be of the ſame force and effect, as they would have been, if this act had not been made: And that all laws, hereafter to be made by the general aſſemblies of the ſaid reſpective plantations, ſhall be made with conſent of the reſpective governors thereof, to be appointed by his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, ſubject to the confirmation or diſallowance of his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, and that appeals ſhall be allowed to his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, from the judgments, decrees, and ſentence to be given and made in the courts of the ſaid reſpective plantations, as appeals are allowed and uſed in other his Majeſty's plantations; any law, ſtatute, or uſage, contrary hereunto, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Dedications to the Rev. John Eliot's Indian version of the Old and New Testament.

[Printed at Cambridge, N. E. by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnſon. 1663.]

[The following dedications to the tranſlation of the old and new teſtament in the indian language, by the celebrated Eliot, are great curioſities. Such were annexed only to the few copies ſent to England: and are of courſe the *very ſcarce* appendages of a *very ſcarce* book. Of ſix copies of the indian bible, which I have ſeen, no one poſſeſſed theſe dedications. The following were taken from a mutilated copy, uſed in a barber's ſhop for waſte paper. From this intended deſtruction they were eagerly ſnatched, by the hand which writes this, *as truly valuable relicks*.]

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

The Commiſſioners of the United Colonies in New-England, wiſh increaſe of all happineſs, &c.

Moſt Dread Soveraign,

IF our weak apprehenſions have not miſled us, this Work will be no unacceptable Preſent to Your Majeſty, as having

having a greater Intereſt therein, than we believe is generally underſtood: which (upon this Occaſion) we conceive it our Duty to declare.

The People of theſe four Colonies (Confederate for Mutual Defence, in the time of the late Diſtractions of our dear Native Country) Your Majeſties natural born Subjects, by the Favour and Grant of Your Royal Father and Grandfather of Famous Memory, put themſelves upon this great and hazardous Undertaking, of Planting themſelves at their own Charge in theſe remote ends of the Earth, that without offence or provocation to our dear Brethren and Countrymen, we might enjoy that liberty to Worſhip God, which our own Conſcience informed us, was not onely our Right, but Duty: As alſo that we might (if it ſo pleaſed God) be inſtrumental to ſpread the light of the Goſpel, the knowledg of the Son of God our Saviour, to the poor barbarous Heathen, which by His late Majeſty, in ſome of our Patents, is declared to be His principal aim.

Theſe honeſt and pious Intentions, have, through the grace and goodneſs of God and our Kings, been ſeconded with proportionable ſucceſs: for, omitting the Immunities indulged us by Your Highneſs Royal Predeceſſors, we have been greatly incouraged by Your Majeſties gracious expreſſions of Favour and Approbation ſignified, unto the *Addreſs* made by the principal of our Colonies, to which the reſt do moſt cordially Subſcribe, though wanting the like ſeaſonable opportunity, they have been (till now) deprived of the means to Congratulate Your Majeſties happy Reſtitution, after Your long ſuffering, which we implore may yet be graciouſly accepted, that we may be equal partakers of Your Royal Favour and Moderation; which hath been ſo Illuſtrious that (to admiration) the animoſities and different Perſwaſions of men have been ſo ſoon Compoſed, and ſo much cauſe of hope, that (unleſs the ſins of the Nation prevent) a bleſſed Calm will ſucceed the late horrid Confuſions of Church and State. And ſhall not we (*Dread Soveraign*) your Subjects of theſe Colonies, of the ſame Faith and Belief in all Points of Doctrine with our Countrymen, and the other Reformed Churches, (though perhaps not alike perſwaded in ſome matters of

Order,

Order, which in outward reſpects hath been unhappy for us) promiſe and aſſure our ſelves of all juſt favour and indulgence from a Prince ſo happily and graciouſly endowed?

The other part of our Errand hither, hath been attended with Endevours and Bleſſing; many of the wilde *Indians* being taught, and underſtanding the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion, and with much affection attending ſuch Preachers as are ſent to teach them, many of their Children are inſtructed to Write and Reade, and ſome of them have proceeded further, to attain the knowledge of the Latine and Greek Tongues, and are brought up with our Engliſh youth in Univerſity-learning: There are divers of them that can and do reade ſome parts of the Scripture, and ſome Catechiſms, which formerly have been Tranſlated into their own Language, which hath occaſioned the undertaking of a greater Work, *viz:* The Printing of the whole Bible, which (being Tranſlated by a painful Labourer amongſt them, who was deſirous to ſee the Work accompliſhed in his dayes) hath already proceeded to the finiſhing of the New Teſtament, which we here humbly preſent to Your Majeſty, as the firſt fruits and accompliſhment of the Pious Deſign of your Royal Anceſtors. The Old Teſtament is now under the Preſs, wanting and craving your Royal Favour and Aſſiſtance for the perfecting thereof.

We may not conceal, that though this Work hath been begun and proſecuted by ſuch Inſtruments as God hath raiſed up here, yet the chief Charge and Coſt, which hath ſupported and carried it thus far, hath been from the Charity and Piety of divers of our well-affected Countrymen in *England;* who being ſenſible of our inability in that reſpect, and ſtudious to promote ſo good a Work, contributed large Sums of Money, which were to be improved according to the Direction and Order of the then-prevailing Powers, which hath been faithfully and religiouſly attended both there and here, according to the pious intentions of the Benefactors. And we do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that a matter of ſo much Devotion and Piety, tending ſo much to the Honour of God, may ſuffer no diſappointment through any Legal defect (without the fault of the Donors, or the poor *Indians*, who only

onely receive the benefit) but that your Majeſty be graciouſly pleaſed to Eſtabliſh and Confirm the ſame, being contrived and done (as we conceive) in the firſt year of your Majeſties Reign, as this Book was begun and now finiſhed in the firſt year of your Eſtabliſhment; which doth not onely preſage the happy ſucceſs of your Highneſs Government, but will be a perpetual monument, that by your Majeſties Favour the Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, was firſt made known to the *Indians*: An Honour whereof (we are aſſured) your Majeſty will not a little eſteem.

SIR, *The ſhines of Your Royal Favour upon theſe Vndertakings, will make theſe tender Plants to flouriſh, notwithſtanding any malevolent Aſpect from thoſe that bear evil will to this* Sion, *and render Your Majeſty more Illuſtrious and Glorious to after Generations.*

The God of Heaven long preſerve and bleſs Your Majeſty with many happy dayes, to his Glory, the good and comfort of his Church and People. Amen.

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

The Commiſſioners of the United Colonies in New-England, Wiſh all Happineſs.

Moſt Dread Soveraign,

AS our former Preſentation of the New-Teſtament was Graciouſly Accepted by Your Majeſty; ſo with all Humble Thankfulneſs for that Royal Favour, and with the like hope, We are bold now to Preſent the *WHOLE BIBLE*, Tranſlated into the Language of the Natives of this Country, by *A Painful Labourer in that Work*, and now *Printed* and *Finiſhed*, by means of the Pious Beneficence of Your Majeſties Subjects in *England*: which alſo by Your Special Favour hath been Continued and Confirmed to the intended Uſe and Advancement of ſo Great and Good a Work, as is the *Propagation of the Goſpel to theſe poor Barbarians* in this (Ere-while) Unknown World.

Tranſlations of Holy Scipture, *The Word of the King of Kings*, have ever been deemed not unworthy of the moſt Princely Dedications: Examples whereof are extant in divers Languages. But Your Majeſty is the Firſt that hath Received one in this Language, or from this *American World*, or from any Parts ſo Remote from *Europe* as theſe are, for ought that ever we heard of.

Publications alſo of theſe Sacred Writings to the Sons of Men (who here, and here onely, have the Myſteries of their Eternal Salvation revealed to them by the God of Heaven) is a Work that the Greateſt Princes have Honoured themſelves by. But to Publiſh and Communicate the ſame to a Loſt People, as remote from Knowledge and Civility, much more from Chriſtianity, as they were from all Knowing, Civil and Chriſtian Nations; a People without Law, without Letters, without Riches, or Means to procure any ſuch thing; a People that *ſate as deep in Darkneſs, and in the ſhadow of Death*, as (we think) any ſince the Creation: This puts a Luſtre upon it that is Superlative and to have given Royal Patronage and Countenance to ſuch a Publication, or to the Means thereof, will ſtand among the Marks of Laſting Honour in the eyes of all that are Conſiderate, even unto After-Generations.

And though there be in this Weſtern World many Colonies of other Europæan Nations, yet we humbly conceive no Prince hath had a Return of ſuch a Work as this which may be ſome Token of the Succeſs of Your Majeſties Plantation of *New-England*, Undertaken and Setled under the Encouragement and Security of Grants from Your Royal Father and Grandfather, of Famous Memory, and Cheriſhed with late Gracious Aſpects from Your Majeſty. Though indeed, the preſent Poverty of theſe Plantations could not have Accompliſhed this Work, had not the forementioned Bounty of *England* lent Relief; Nor could that have Continued to ſtand us in ſtead, without the Influence of Your Royal Favour and Authority, whereby the *Corporation* there, *For Propagating the Goſpel among theſe Natives*, hath been Eſtabliſhed and Encouraged (whoſe Labour of Love, Care, and Faithfulneſs in that Truſt, muſt ever be remembred with Honour.) Yea, when private perſons, for their private Ends, have of late

ſought

ſought Advantages to deprive the ſaid Corporation of Half the Poſſeſſions that had been, by Liberal Contributions, obtained for ſo Religious Ends; We underſtand, That by an Honourable and Righteous Deciſion in Your Majeſties *Court of Chancery*, their Hopes have been defeated, and the Thing Settled where it was and is. For which great Favour, and Illuſtrious Fruit of Your Majeſties Government, we cannot but return our moſt Humble Thanks in this Publick Manner: And, as the Reſult, of the joynt Endeavours of Your Majeſties Subjects there and here, acting under Your Royal Influence, We Preſent *You* with this Work, which upon ſundry accounts is to be called *Yours*.

The Southern Colonies of the *Spaniſh Nation* have ſent home from this *American Continent*, much Gold and Silver, as the Fruit and End of their Diſcoveries and Tranſplantations: That (we confeſs) is a ſcarce Commodity in this Colder Climate. But (ſutable to the Ends of our Undertaking) we Preſent this, and other Concomitant Fruits of our poor Endeavours to Plant and Propagate the Goſpel here; which, upon a true account, is as much better than Gold, as the Souls of men are more worth than the whole World. This is a Nobler Fruit (and indeed, in the Counſels of All-diſpoſing Providence, was an higher intended End) of *Columbus* his Adventure. And though by his Brother's being hindred from a ſeaſonable Application, your Famous Predeceſſour and Anceſtor, King *Henry* the Seventh, miſſed of being ſole Owner of that firſt Diſcovery, and of the Riches thereof; yet, if the Honour of firſt Diſcovering the True and Saving Knowledge of the Goſpel unto the poor *Americans*, and of Erecting the Kingdome of *JESUS CHRIST* among them, be Reſerved for, and do Redound unto your Majeſty, and the Engliſh Nation, After-ages will not reckon this Inferiour to the other. Religion is the End and Glory of Mankinde: and as it was the Profeſſed End of this Plantation; ſo we deſire ever to keep it in our Eye as our main Deſign (both as to ourſelves, and the Natives about us) and that our Products may be anſwerable thereunto. Give us therefore leave (*Dread Soveraign*) yet again humbly to Beg the Continuance of your Royal Favour, and of the Influences thereof, upon this poor Plantation, *The United Colonies of* NEW-ENGLAND,

LAND, for the Securing and Eſtabliſhment of our Civil Priviledges, and Religious Liberties hitherto Enjoyed; and, upon this Good Work of Propagating Religion to theſe Natives, that the Supports and Encouragements thereof from *England* may be ſtill Countenanced and Confirmed. May this Nurſling ſtill ſuck the Breaſt of Kings, and be foſtered by your Majeſty, as it hath been by your Royal Predeceſſors, unto the Preſervation of its main Concernments; It ſhall thrive and proſper to the Glory of God, and the Honour of your Majeſty: Neither will it be any loſs or grief unto our Lord the King, to have the Bleſſing of the Poor to come upon Him, and that from theſe Ends of the Earth.

The God by whom Kings Reign, and Princes Decree Juſtice, Bleſs Your Majeſty, and Eſtabliſh Your Throne in Righteouſneſs, in Mercy, and in Truth, to the Glory of His Name, the Good of His People, and to Your own Comfort and Rejoycing, not in this onely, but in another World.

SIR THOMAS TEMPLE'S APOLOGY FOR COINAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS. FROM THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR JANUARY, 1799.

I BEG leave, through the channel of your liberal and moſt valuable miſcellany, to make a few obſervations upon the following paſſage in Dr. Robertſon's "Hiſtory of America," lately publiſhed. After enumerating ſeveral inſtances of the addreſs and ambition of the coloniſts in the northern provinces, the hiſtorian goes on:

"Theſe were followed by an indication ſtill leſs ambiguous of the aſpiring ſpirit prevalent among the people of the Maſſachuſetts. Under every form of government, the right of coining money has been conſidered as a prerogative peculiar to ſovereignty, and which no ſubordinate member of a ſtate is entitled to claim. Regardleſs of this eſtabliſhed maxim, the general court ordered a coinage of ſilver money at Boſton, ſtamped with the name of the colony, and a tree, as an apt ſymbol of its progreſſive vigour. Even this uſurpation paſſed without notice."

From

From the above paſſage, it ſeems to be the opinion of Dr. Robertſon, that the people of the Maſſachuſetts aſſumed this "peculiar prerogative of ſovereignty" in defiance of, or at leaſt in oppoſition to, the royal authority. But it ought to be particularly noticed, that the firſt coinage was made in the year 1652. Inſtead, therefore, of aſcribing this meaſure to the "aſpiring ſpirit" of the people of Maſſachuſetts, the Doctor might juſtly have ſaid, that the coloniſts being nearly deſerted, at this time, by the rulers at home, on account of the civil wars, and the various forms of government which afterwards followed, were obliged to coin money from abſolute neceſſity. The following extract from the Memoirs of the late truly patriotic Thomas Hollis, will prove this to have been the principal, if not the only cauſe, and conſequently point out the miſtake which Dr. Robertſon has inadvertently fallen into.

"Sir Thomas Temple, brother to Sir William Temple, reſided ſeveral years in New-England during the interregnum. After the reſtoration, when he returned to England, the King ſent for him, and diſcourſed with him on the ſtate of affairs in the Maſſachuſetts, and diſcovered great warmth againſt that colony. Among other things, he ſaid they had invaded his prerogative by coining money. Sir Thomas, who was a real friend to the colony, told his majeſty, that the coloniſts had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make money for their own uſe. In the courſe of the converſation, Sir Thomas took ſome of the money out of his pocket, and preſented it to the king. On one ſide of the coin was a pine tree, of that kind which is thick and buſhy at the top. Charles aſked what tree that was? Sir Thomas informed him it was the royal oak, which preſerved his majeſty's life. This account of the matter brought the king into good humour, and diſpoſed him to hear what Sir Thomas had to ſay in their favour, calling them a "parcel of honeſt dogs."

The jocular turn which Sir Thomas gave to the ſtory, was evidently calculated to amuſe the monarch in his own way, and had the deſired effect, in diſpoſing him to hear with good humour that juſt defence of the colonies, which Sir Thomas was ſo well qualified to make. We find he pleaded,

pleaded, that the coloniſts thought it no crime to make money for their own uſe; at a time too, when the confuſions in the mother country prevented them from receiving thoſe occaſional ſupplies of coin, which were abſolutely neceſſary for common circulation. Such an uncommon exigency required an uncommon expedient; and this will account for the proceedings of the people of Maſſachuſetts in a more rational manner, than Dr. Robertſon has done: for it is highly improbable that they ſhould aſpire after independence, at a time when their hiſtorians repreſent them as few in number, diſcordant, and ſcarcely able to defend themſelves againſt their ſavage enemies.

A writer of ſuch diſtinguiſhed talents as the late Dr. Robertſon, will always enjoy the good opinion and confidence of his readers: his miſtakes, therefore, will be of more conſequence, and deſerving of being amended. That our eloquent hiſtorian is under a miſtake, though, no doubt, an inadvertent one, in the preſent inſtance, is next to certain; nor will his candid readers be diſpleaſed with any reſpectful attempt to ſet this miſtake in a clear light. It may be added too, as ſome kind of proof in this caſe, that, during the late unhappy American war, when the whole tribe of hireling ſcribblers and aſpiring prieſts were, with "profligate induſtry," ranſacking every dirty corner to diſcover and accumulate charges againſt the coloniſts, in order to ſtimulate the credulous John Bull to bleed freely, the coinage buſineſs was never, to the beſt of my recollection, enumerated in the black catalogue of their high crimes and miſdemeanours.

Signed, *A Friend to Truth.*

THE

THE HEADS OF INQUIRY, RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT STATE AND CONDITION OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, SIGNIFIED BY HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE, IN HIS LETTER OF THE 5TH JULY, 1773, WITH THE ANSWERS, RETURNED TO HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE, BY THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE ENGLISH COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, OCTOBER, 1774.

I. WHAT is the ſituation of the colony under your government, the nature of the country, ſoil and climate, the latitudes and longitudes of the moſt conſiderable places in it? Have thoſe latitudes and longitudes been ſettled by good obſervations, or only by common computations, and from whence are the longitudes computed?

I. The ſituation of the firſt ſettled part of this colony is moſtly from forty-one to forty-two degrees of northerly latitude, and from ſeventy-two to ſeventy-three degrees and forty-five minutes of weſt longitude. The ſoil of this colony (lying in the 5th and 6th north climate) is generally fertile, interſperſed with mountainous and broken land, with ſome ſmall parts thin and barren: the country healthful, although ſubject to the extremes of heat and cold in their ſeaſons, and to frequent ſudden changes. Two conſiderable places and ports in the colony are, New-London, latitude 41°. 25′. north, longitude 72°. 15′. weſt, New-Haven, latitude 41°. 18′. north, longitude 72°. 56′. weſt; ſettled by good obſervations: the longitudes computed from the royal obſervatory at Greenwich.

II. What are the reputed boundaries? And are any parts thereof diſputed? What parts, and by whom?

II. The boundaries are expreſſed in our charter, viz. "All that part of his Majeſty's dominions in New-England, in America, bounden on the eaſt by Narraganſet "river, commonly called Narraganſet bay, where the river "falleth into the ſea; and on the north by the line of the "Maſſachuſetts plantation; and on the ſouth by the ſea; "and in longitude as the line of the Maſſachuſetts colony, "running from eaſt to weſt, that is to ſay, from the ſaid "Narraganſet

" Narraganſet bay on the eaſt, to the ſouth ſea on the weſt " part, with the iſlands thereunto adjoining."

A number of the inhabitants of this colony, called the Suſquehannah, and Delaware companies, in the year 1754, for great and valuable conſiderations, in money, paid and ſatisfied to the Indians of the Six Nations, purchaſed of them, as early as they, the aboriginal proprietors, were willing to grant and convey their title to a large tract of land, within the bounds and limits of this colony, lying weſt of the river Delaware, and from thence ſpreading over the eaſt and weſt branches of the Suſquehannah river. Since ſuch purchaſes a great number of our inhabitants have made ſettlements thereon.

The general aſſembly of this colony have aſſerted their claim to thoſe lands: and the inhabitants dwelling within the bounds of this colony, on the weſt ſide of the Delaware river, are made and conſtituted a diſtinct town, with like powers and privileges as other towns in this colony by law have, within the following bounds, viz. bounded eaſt by Delaware river, north by the north bound of the colony, weſt by a north and ſouth line acroſs the colony at fifteen miles diſtance weſt from a place on the Suſquehannah river called Wyoming, and ſouth by the ſouth line of this colony; which town is called by the name of Weſtmoreland, and is annexed to the county of Litchfield. The proprietaries of Pennſylvania diſpute the right of this colony to thoſe lands; they refuſe to join, to run, or to ſettle the line between this colony and that province.

III. What is the ſize and extent of the colony, the number of acres ſuppoſed to be contained therein? What part thereof is cultivated and improved? And under what titles do the inhabitants hold their poſſeſſion?

III. The ſize and extent of the firſt ſettled part, is from the colony of Rhode-Iſland on the eaſt, to the province of New-York on the weſt; and from the Maſſachuſetts on the north, to the ſea on the ſouth: two millions, ſix hundred and forty thouſand acres, are ſuppoſed to be contained therein. The proportion of arable, meadow, paſture, wood-land, and ſuch as is mountainous and barren, is unknown. The lands beyond the river Delaware, lately purchaſed from the Indian proprietors, are ſtill leſs known.

The

The original title to the lands on which the colony was firſt ſettled, was, at the time the Engliſh came hither, in the Pequot nation of Indians, who were numerous and warlike; their country extended from Narraganſet to Hudſon's river, and over all Long-Iſland. Saſacus, their great ſagamore, had under him twenty-ſix ſachems: he injuriouſly made war upon the Engliſh; he exerciſed deſpotic dominion over his ſubjects; he, with all his ſachems and people, were conquered, and made tributaries to the Engliſh. The war being ended, conſiderations and ſettlements were made with ſuch ſachems and people as remained, who came in, and received to their full contentment and ſatisfaction; and have at all times ſince been uſed and treated with juſtice and humanity. No grants are made by the general aſſembly, before the Indian title is purchaſed, agreeable to the right of pre-emption, granted by royal charter to the governor and company of this colony. Thus the greateſt part of this colony was purchaſed and obtained for great and valuable conſiderations, and other parts thereof gained by conqueſt, and with much difficulty, and at the only endeavours, expenſe and charges of perſons thereby intereſted in the plantation of Connecticut, in New-England, and their aſſociates. Thereupon, agreeable to our royal patent and grant, the title under which the inhabitants hold their poſſeſſion, is a grant and patent made by the general aſſembly of the governor and company of this colony to the reſpective townſhips, or to particular perſons, to them, their heirs, ſucceſſors and aſſigns forever, according to the moſt free tenure of Eaſt-Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in the realm of England.

IV. What rivers are there, and of what extent and convenience in point of commerce?

IV. The principal rivers are, Connecticut, New-London, Stratford, Delaware, and Suſquehannah. The extent of the firſt is through New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and this colony; navigable to Hartford; the ſecond to Norwich; the third to Derby, the northern parts of this is uſually called Ouſatannock river: they are all of great convenience in point of commerce.

V. What are the principal harbours, how ſituated, of

what extent, and what is the depth of water, and nature of anchorage each ?

V. The principal harbours are, New-London, and New-Haven : The former opens to the ſouth ; from the light-houſe at the mouth of the harbour, to the town, is about three miles, the breadth three-quarters of a mile, and in ſome places more ; from five to ſix fathoms water, a clear bottom, tough ooze, and as far up as one mile above the town entirely ſecure and commodious for large ſhips : The latter is ſituate north and ſouth ; half a mile wide at the entrance, from thence to the town four miles; having two fathom and one half at low water, and three fathom and four feet at common tides, and very good anchorage.

VI. What is the conſtitution of the government ?

VI. The conſtitution of the government, by royal charter, is a legiſlative power veſted in the general aſſembly, which conſiſts of the governor, or in his abſence the deputy-governor, and twelve aſſiſtants (called the upper houſe); and repreſentatives, not exceeding two from each town, choſen by the freemen of the reſpective towns they repreſent, (called the lower houſe.)

No act is valid without the joint concurrence of both houſes : they make laws, inſtitute judicatories, appoint judges, and other neceſſary officers, who are ſworn to a faithful diſcharge of their truſt. A general aſſembly is holden, agreeable to royal charter, in May and October, annually ; and at other times when called by the governor, or in his abſence the deputy-governor, on any emergency.

VII. What is the trade of the province ? the number of ſhipping belonging thereto, their tonnage, and number of ſeafaring men, with their reſpective increaſe or diminution within ten years paſt ?

VII. The principal trade of this colony is to the Weſt-India iſlands, excepting now and then a veſſel to Ireland with flaxſeed, and to England with lumber and pot-aſhes, and a few to Gibraltar and Barbary. The number of ſhipping is one hundred and eighty ; their tonnage 10,317 ; ſeafaring men 1162 ; beſides upwards of twenty ſail of coaſting veſſels, that employ about ninety ſeamen :

The

The increaſe ſince the year 1762, in number of ſhipping, 76 ; their tonnage 6,790 ; ſeafaring men 601.

VIII. What quantity and ſorts of Britiſh manufactures do the inhabitants annually take from hence ? What goods and commodities are exported from thence to Great-Britain, and what is the annual amount at average ?

VIII. The quantity of Britiſh manufactures the inhabitants do annually import hither from Great-Britain, are few ; but including thoſe taken from the merchants of Boſton and New-York, upon a medium, from the beſt obſervation, is £.200,000 ſterling, per annum. The ſorts are almoſt all that are uſeful or ornamental in common life. The goods and commodities exported from hence to Great-Britain, are pot and pearl aſhes, lumber, and ſome ſalted proviſions ; the annual amount at an average may be £.10,000 ſterling.

IX. What trade has the province under your government with any foreign plantations, or any part of Europe beſides Great-Britain ? How is that trade carried on ? What commodities do the people under your government ſend to, or receive from foreign plantations ; and what is the annual amount at an average ?

IX. A trade with the French and Dutch Weſt-Indies, Gibraltar, and Barbary. Thoſe veſſels that go from hence to the French and Dutch plantations, carry horſes, cattle, ſheep, hogs, proviſions and lumber : thoſe for Gibraltar and Barbary, carry flour, lumber, New-England rum, and ſtores for muling ; they receive molaſſes, cocoa, cotton, and ſome ſugar ; from the Dutch plantations bills of exchange ; and from Barbary, mules, ſold in the Weſt-Indies for bills of exchange : the annual amount is about £.55,000, at an average.

X. What methods are there uſed to prevent illegal trade ? and are the ſame effectual ?

X. A careful conformity of the cuſtom-houſe officers and all concerned, to their duty, which prove very effectual.

XI. What is the natural produce of the country, ſtaple commodities, and manufactures ; and what value thereof in ſterling money may you annually export ?

XI. Its natural produce is timber of all kinds, wheat, rye,

rye, indian-corn, beans, barley, oats, and flax: the ſtaple commodities are the above produce, pork, beef, and pot and pearl aſhes.

The manufactures are coarſe linens and woollens, done in the family-way, for the uſe of the poorer ſort, labourers, and ſervants; alſo ironmongery, but export none. The value of our exported produce and commodities, may be annually £.200,000.

XII. What mines are there?

XII. Copper mines in divers parts, yet after conſiderable expenſe and labour to open them, have proved unprofitable, and now are much neglected.—Iron mines in great plenty in many places, manufactured to ſome advantage, but hitherto not a ſupply for our inhabitants.

XIII. What is the number of inhabitants, whites and blacks?

XIII. On an exact cenſus, the number of inhabitants: whites 191,392; blacks 6,464.

XIV. Are the inhabitants increaſed or decreaſed within the laſt ten years? How much, and for what reaſon?

XIV. The inhabitants are increaſed ſince the year 1762, 52,266; alſo within this time, there have been frequent and numerous emigrations from hence, to ſettle on new lands in his Majeſty's other colonies in America: which, under the Divine Benediction, we attribute to induſtrious, temperate life, and early marriage.

XV. What is the number of the militia, and under what regulations is it conſtituted?

XV. The number on the militia rolls is 26,260. It is conſtituted under the regulations provided in "An act "for forming and regulating the militia; and for the en- "couragement of military ſkill, for the better defence of "this colony." All male perſons from ſixteen years of age to forty-five, to bear arms, excepting civil and eccleſiaſtical officers, and others therein mentioned: the train-bands in each town, to attend four days in a year, for inſtruction in military diſcipline. There are eighteen regiments, with a troop of horſe to each, and to ſome two troops; each regiment to attend regimental exerciſes once in four years. The militia ſpend their own time; the ſoldiers and all houſeholders provide themſelves with arms, &c.

&c. Fines and penalties are impoſed for every neglect and defect. It is no otherwiſe of any expenſe to the colony.

XVI. What forts and places of defence are there within your government; and in what condition?

XVI. A ſmall battery at New-London, conſiſting of nine guns, built and ſupported at the colony's expenſe, which is ſmall.

XVII. What number of Indians have you; and how are they inclined?

XVII. There is thirteen hundred and ſixty-three; many of them dwell in Engliſh families, the reſt in ſmall tribes in various places: they are in peace, good order, and inclined to idleneſs.

XVIII. What is the ſtrength of the neighbouring Indians?

XVIII. No Indians are in the neighbourhood of the firſt ſettled part of this Colony; the Six Nations border on the lands lying weſt of Delaware.

XIX. What is the revenue ariſing within your government; and how is it appropriated and applied?

XIX. It ariſes from a tax on polls and rateable eſtate, near to ſix thouſand pounds ſterling: Somewhat more than one third part is appropriated to the ſupport of ſchools in the ſeveral towns, for education of children and youth: The reſidue is applied for the ſupport of government.

XX. What are the ordinary and extraordinary expenſes of your government?

XX. The ordinary annual expenſes are near four thouſand pounds ſterling, excluſive of the ſchools: there hath been no extraordinary expenſes ſince the laſt war; the burden of that is felt to this day.

XXI. What are the eſtabliſhments, civil and military, within your government; and by what authority do the officers hold their places? What is the annual value of each office, civil and military? How are they reſpectively appointed, and who are the preſent poſſeſſors?

XXI. The civil officers of the colony, are; the governor, deputy-governor, and twelve aſſiſtants, annually choſen in May, by the freemen of the colony, and take their ſeveral and reſpective corporal oaths, according to our royal charter: at the ſame time is choſen and ſworn according to

to law, a treaſurer, and ſecretary. By law are eſtabliſhed, one ſuperior court, whereof is one chief judge, and four other judges; which court is held in each county twice in a year: an inferior or county court in each county, whereof is one judge, and two or more juſtices of the quorum: courts of probates in eighteen diſtricts, whereof is one judge in each diſtrict: juſtices of the peace for each county, whereof there is one or more in each town: one ſheriff, and one King's attorney in each county.

The military officers eſtabliſhed by law, are; the governor for the time being, is captain-general and commander in chief of and over all the military forces within this colony; the deputy-governor for the time being, is lieutenant-general of the ſame: one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel and one major of each regiment: one captain of each train-band, and troop of horſe, with ſubaltern officers.

All officers, civil and military, hold their place by commiſſion from the governor.

The governor's ſalary is £.300 lawful money, per ann.

The deputy-governor's is £.100.

The treaſurer's is £.180.

The ſecretary's is £.20, with certain perquiſites.

Other civil officers are rewarded for their ſervices according to the time they attend the ſame.

All officers, both civil and military, are appointed by the governor, council, and repreſentatives, in general court aſſembled.

The civil officers are appointed annually in May; the military officers from time to time as vacancies happen.

The names of the preſent civil officers, are as follows, viz.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Governor,
MATTHEW GRISWOLD, Deputy-Governor.

Aſſiſtants.

Jabez Hamlin,	Abraham Davenport,
Shubael Conant,	William-Samuel Johnſon,
Eliſha Shelden,	Joſeph Spencer,
Eliphalet Dyer,	Oliver Wolcott,
Jabez Huntington,	William Pitkin,
Roger Sherman,	James-Abraham Hillhouſe,

John

John Lawrence, Treaſurer,
George Wyllys, Secretary.

The Superior Court.
Mathew Griſwold, Chief Judge.
Eliphalet Dyer,
Roger Sherman,
William Pitkin,
Samuel Huntington,
} Judges.

COLONY OF CONNECTICUT.

At a General Aſſembly of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, holden at New-Haven, on the ſecond Thurſday of October, 1774.

RESOLVED by this Aſſembly, that his Honour the Governor be, and he is hereby deſired to cauſe ſix hundred copies of the queries from the Secretary of State, dated 5th July, 1773, and the anſwers thereto, prepared by his Honour, and laid before this Aſſembly, to be printed, and cauſe the ſame to be diſtributed to the ſeveral towns in this colony, in proportion to their liſt of eſtates.

GEORGE WYLLYS, Sec'y.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERE DROUGHT IN 1749, FROM A MS. OF MR. JAMES BLAKE, OF DORCHESTER.

"THIS ſummer was the ſevereſt drought in this country that has ever been known in the memory of the oldeſt perſons among us. It was a dry ſpring; and by the latter end of May the graſs was burnt up, ſo that the ground looked white: and it was the 6th day of July, before any rain (to ſpeak of) came. The earth was dried like powder to a great depth; and many wells, ſprings, brooks, and ſmall rivers were dried up, that were never known to fail before: and the fiſh in ſome of the rivers died. The paſtures were ſo ſcorched, that there was nothing green to be ſeen; and the cattle waxed poor, and by their lowing ſeemed to call upon their owners for relief, who

who could nót help them. Although the dry graſs was eaten ſo cloſe, that there were but a few thin ſpires to be ſeen, yet ſeveral paſtures took fire, and burnt fiercely. My paſture took fire near the barn, by a boy's dropping a coal as he was carrying fire to the water-ſide; and though there ſeemed to be ſo little graſs, yet what there was, by the ground's being ſo dry, blazed and flaſhed like gunpowder, and run very faſt along the ground, and in one place burnt ſome fence: and we were forced to work hard to keep it from the barn, and to extinguiſh it; having the help of ſundry men that happened to be here. It ſpread over about half an acre of ground before we could ſtop it; and where there were lumps of cow-dung, it would burn till the whole lump was conſumed, and burn a hole in the ground; and we were obliged to uſe much water to quench it.

"There was a great ſcarcity of hay, being but a very little cut of the firſt crop; and ſalt-marſh failed nearly as much as the Engliſh meadow. Engliſh hay was then ſold for £.3 and £.3–10, old tenor, per hundred. Barley and oats were ſo pinched, that many had not much more than their ſeed again; and many cut down their grain, before it was ripe, for fodder. Flax almoſt wholly failed, as all garden herbs of all ſorts; and the Indian corn rolled up and wilted. And there was a melancholy proſpect of the greateſt dearth that ever was known in this land.

"In the time of our fears and diſtreſs, the governmen ordered a day of public faſting and prayer: and God wa graciouſly pleaſed to hear and anſwer our petitions in very remarkable manner: for, about the 6th of July, the courſe of the weather altered, and there came ſuch ſeaſonable and plentiful rains, as quite changed the face of the earth; and that graſs which we generally concluded was wholly dead, and could not come again under ſeveral years, was revived, and there was a good ſecond crop of mowing, it looking more like the ſpring than the latter part of the year: and the Indian corn recovered, and there was a very good harveſt.

"And whereas it was thought, in the fall of the year, that a multitude of cattle muſt die for want of food, inſomuch that they ſent and fetched hay from England; yet God

God in his providence ordered us a moderate winter, and we were carried comfortably through it, and I did not hear of many, if any, cattle that died. But by reaſon of ſo many cattle having been killed off laſt fall, beef, mutton, and butter are now, in May, 1750, very dear. Butter is 7/6 old tenor pr. lb.

"Upon the coming of the rains, and renewing of the earth, laſt fall, the government appointed a day of public thankſgiving.

"[This ſummer, June 18th was ſaid to be the hotteſt day that was ever known in the northerly part of America.]"

GRAND JURY'S BILL AGAINST MARY OSGOOD.

Province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, in New England. Eſſex, ſſ. } *Anno R. & Reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ Anglice, &c. Quarto.*

Annoq. Domini 1692.

THE jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady, the King and Queen, preſent, that Mary Oſgood, wife of Capt. John Oſgood, of Andover, in the county of Eſſex, about eleven years ago, in the town of Andover aforeſaid, wickedly, maliciouſly, and felonioufly, a covenant with the Devil did make, and ſigned the Devil's Book, and took the Devil to be her God, and conſented to ſerve and worſhip him, and was baptized by the Devil, and renounced her former Chriſtian baptiſm, and promiſed to be the Devil's, both body and ſoul forever, and to ſerve him; by which diabolical covenant, by her made with the Devil, ſhe the ſaid Mary Oſgood is become a deteſtable Witch, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, the King and Queen, their crown and dignity, and the laws in that caſe made and provided.

Billa vera. ROBERT PAGE, Foreman.

Ponit ſe. Non cul :—found.

Biographical Notice of the Rev. James Noyes, first minister of Newbury.

REVEREND James Noyes was born in England, at Choulderton, in Wiltſhire, in the year 1608. His father was a miniſter of that town: His mother a ſiſter of the Rev. Robert Parker.

He had his education, chiefly, under Mr. Thomas Parker, the ſon of Robert. By him he was invited from Brazen-noſe college, in Oxford, to aſſiſt in the care and charge of the public ſchool at Newbury; and which they kept together until they came into New-England, in 1634.

Soon afterwards they began a ſettlement, to which they gave the name of Newbury; gathered a church, and Mr. Parker became the paſtor, and Mr. Noyes the teacher. In this ſtation, Mr. Noyes continued for ſomething more than twenty years.

His ſickneſs was long and tedious, which he bore with patience, and even cheerfulneſs, and died October 22d, 1656, in the 48th year of his age. He left ſix ſons and two daughters, all of whom *lived to be married.* Two of his ſons, James and Moſes, were educated at Harvard college; commenced in 1659, and were ſettled in the miniſtry in Connecticut.

James was paſtor of a church in Stonington, and died December 30th, in the year 1719, in the 81ſt year of his age, and 56th of his miniſtry.

Moſes was paſtor of a church in Lyme. He died Nov. 10th, 1729, in the 86th year of his age, after having reſided with his people 60 years.

A Deſcription and Historical Account of the Iſles of Shoals.

Situation.] THERE are *eight* Iſlands in the cluſter that bears this name, compactly ſituated, viz. *Hog* Iſland, of about 350 acres; *Star* Iſland, of about 150 acres; *Haley's*, or *Smutty-Noſe* Iſland, of about 100 acres. Theſe are the principal, and the only ones that are

are habitable. The others are *Cedar*, *White*, *Londonners's*, *Malaga*, and *Duck Iſlands*; the largeſt of which contains about eight acres, the ſmalleſt one acre. They lie nine miles S. E. of Portſmouth light-houſe, (N. H.) and 21 N. E. of the light-houſes at Newburyport. N. Lat. 42°. 59′. W. Long. from London, 70°. 30′. The line, which divides New-Hampſhire from Maine, paſſes between theſe iſlands, leaving *Haley's*, *Hog*, *Duck*, *Cedar* and *Malaga* iſles, on the N. E. in Maine; and the others on the S. W. in New-Hampſhire.* Some have entertained the idea, that theſe iſlands, at ſome former period, joined to ſome of the points or bluffs, that project from the main, near Hampton. The Rev. Mr. *Tuck* was of this opinion.†

DISCOVERY.] Theſe iſlands were diſcovered by the celebrated Capt. JOHN SMITH, in 1614, and by him named *Smith's Iſles*. For reaſons unknown to the writer, they ſhortly after obtained their preſent name. The deed given by the Indian ſagamores to John Wheelright and others, in 1629, includes "the *Iſles of Shoals*, ſo called by the Engliſh."‡

HARBOUR.] The only ſecure harbour in theſe iſlands is Haley's, which opens to the S. W. having Haley's iſland S. E. Malaga N. W. a wall, built by Mr. Haley, between 70 and 80 paces in length, on the N. E. This little, well ſheltered harbour is of great importance, not only to the fiſhermen of theſe iſlands, but to merchant veſſels coming on this coaſt, who, not infrequently, have been obliged to put into the Shoals, in diſtreſs. Many lives and much property have been ſaved by means of this harbour, and the timely and humane exertions of theſe hardy iſlanders. The wall, which ſecures this harbour, is in a ſtate of decay. The enterpriſing proprietor is unable to make the neceſſary repairs. The ſecurity and enlargement of this harbour is an

* In Governor Wentworth's commiſſion of 1764, the boundaries of New-Hampſhire are deſcribed in part as follows: "And by a dividing line, parting the *Iſles of Shoals*, and running through the middle of the harbour between the ſaid iſlands to the ſea, on the ſouth-eaſterly ſide, the ſouth-weſterly part of ſaid Iſlands, to be accounted part of our province of New-Hampſhire." The above line meets the ſouth line of New-Hampſhire, at a point a few miles eaſtward of the Shoals.

† MS. Letter of Judge Sewall to the author.

‡ See Belknap's Hiſtory, vol. I. Ap. p. 2.

an object which deſerves the attention of the public. Theſe iſlands are conveniently ſituated for the ſmuggling trade; and unleſs ſome meaſures be taken by the government of the United States, to prevent it, by eſtabliſhing a free port here, or making it a place of ſtrength, it may be uſed for that purpoſe.†

FACE OF THE ISLANDS, &c.] Theſe iſlands have a dreary and inhoſpitable appearance, and but for their advantageous ſituation for carrying on the fiſheries, would probably never have been inhabited. They are a bed of rocks, raiſing their disjointed heads above the water. The greater part of their ſurface is covered with a thin ſoil, yielding graſs ſufficient to ſupport, during the ſummer and autumn, twenty or thirty cows, and about 150 ſheep. The ſheep raiſed here are uſually killed before winter. Nearly half the ſward, on Star Iſland, has, within a few years, been cut up by the neceſſitous inhabitants, dried and burnt, inſtead of more ſolid fuel.

Upon all the iſlands there are chaſms in the rocks, ſeveral yards wide, and from one to ten deep, occaſioned, if we may judge from appearances, by ſome violent earthquake. In ſome places, acres of rock are broken off from the reſt of the iſland; and through the cracks or guts, the water, at high tides and in ſtorms, ruſhes in torrents. The moſt remarkable of theſe chaſms is on the S. E. point of Star iſland, in which is a place, where, tradition ſays, one *Betty Moody* ſecreted herſelf when the Indians viſited the iſland, and carried off many female captives, and thence called, to this day, "*Betty Moody's hole.*" Others ſay ſhe was drowned here.

CLIMATE.] The worthy Mr. Tuck uſed to ſay, that, in the winter ſeaſon, the weather at the Shoals was "a thin under waiſtcoat warmer, than in the ſame parallel of latitude on the main." About a century ago, the ice extended from Star to Hog iſland. In January, 1697, the men were obliged to cut the ice, in order to get their ſhallops into

† In 1766, the town of Goſport (Star Iſland) voted to petition the General Court of New-Hampſhire for a lottery to build a *pier* in the cove before the town.* What became of this petition is not known. A pier was afterwards begun, but never finiſhed. It is a work much wanted in that place. * Town Records.

into the cove.* As will eaſily be ſuppoſed, the weather is very bleak here in winter, but it is delightfully cool and ſalubrious in ſummer, and at all ſeaſons very healthful. Amidſt all the expoſures neceſſary to their occupation, the inhabitants have ſeldom need of a phyſician; and no one of this profeſſion has lived on the iſland for more than twenty years.† The inhabitants are not remarkable for longevity. A conſiderable number periſh at ſea. "In 1632, a fiſhing ſhallop at the Iſle of Shoals was overſet."‡ Many boats and men were deſtroyed by a violent N. E. ſtorm in February, 1695; and the year following, ſix or ſeven boats were taken by the French.§ In the winter of 1801, a fiſhing ſchooner, with all her hands, was loſt in the ſame way. Such accidents have very frequently happened to the inhabitants of theſe iſles; but we have not dates or particulars of theſe events.

PRODUCTIONS.] Theſe iſlands lie in common, except a few ſmall incloſures for gardens and mowing ground; the former yielding to their proprietors a ſcanty ſupply of roots, and other garden ſtuff for ſummer; the latter from about three to ſix tons of hay.‖ A few willows and lombardy poplars, planted by the inhabitants, are the only trees on theſe iſlands. Whortle-berries, choak-plums, and a few cranberries, are found on Hog and Haley's iſles.

WATER.] There are no freſh-water ſtreams on theſe iſlands, and but one perennial ſpring, which is on Hog iſland.¶ The wells, which are rare, are none of them more than twelve feet deep, generally leſs. The clouds furniſh the

* Kelley's Journal MS.

† The phyſicians of Portſmouth have uſually attended the ſick on theſe iſles.

‡ Winthrop's Journal, p. 37.

§ Kelley's Journal.

‖ A woman, by the name of *Puſley*, died on Star iſland about the year 1795, nearly 90 years old. In her life time ſhe kept two cows. The hay, on which they fed in winter, ſhe uſed to cut in ſummer, among the rocks, with a *knife*, with her own hands. She uſually collected in this way about half a ton. Her cows, it was remarked, were always in excellent order. They were taken from her, and paid for, by the Britiſh, about the year 1775, and killed, to the no ſmall grief of the good old woman. The beef was pronounced to be of the very beſt kind.

¶ See the petition of Cutts, &c. under another head.

the inhabitants with the greater part of their water for domeſtic uſes.

FORT.] On the weſt point of Star iſland, on an eminence, are the ruins of a ſmall fort, which was defended formerly by nine cannon, four-pounders. This fort was diſmantled at the commencement of the late war, and the cannon carried to Newburyport.

POPULATION.] For more than a century previous to the American revolutionary war, theſe iſlands, conſidering their ſize and ſituation, were populous, containing from three to ſix hundred ſouls. On Hog iſland, which is now without an inhabitant, there were between twenty and thirty families, who, in general, were good livers. In ſo proſperous a ſtate were theſe iſlands formerly, that gentlemen, from ſome of the principal towns on the ſea coaſt, ſent their ſons here for literary inſtruction. They had a court-houſe on Haley's iſland; a meeting-houſe, firſt on Hog iſland, and afterwards on Star iſland. This iſland, under the juriſdiction of New-Hampſhire, was erected into a town, by the name of *Goſport*,† (at ſome former period called *Appledore*), which was organized with the proper officers, and its political concerns managed with great propriety. But it was found that theſe iſlands afforded ſuſtenance, and recruits, to the enemy, early in the war; in conſequence, the inhabitants were ordered to quit the iſlands. In obedience to government, the greater part of the people diſperſed into the ſeaport towns along the coaſt, and moſt of them never after returned. About twenty families removed to Old-York, where their deſcendants now live. The few who remained, four or five families excepted, have been a miſerable ſet of beings, extremely poor, dirty, and wicked. In the autumn of 1800, there were but eighteen families on all theſe iſlands, fifteen on Star, and three on Haley's iſland, containing in all 112 ſouls. Theſe iſlands, being probably the beſt ſituation for carrying on the fiſheries in America, if the patronage of government could be extended to them, and a few men of capital, induſtry and integrity were to eſtabliſh themſelves here, might furniſh employment, ſupport, and even affluence,

† In 1728, *Goſport* paid into the treaſury of New-Hampſhire £.16--00--4, as her proportion of a tax of £.1000.

affluence, to 600, or even 1000 people; and be an excellent nurſery for ſeamen to man our infant navy.

PRESENT STATE OF THESE ISLANDS.] At the cloſe of the year 1800, there were, on Haley's iſland, three decent dwelling-houſes, occupied by Mr. Haley, an ingenious and reſpectable old gentleman, of ſeventy-ſix, and his two ſons, with their families. In theſe three families were twenty ſouls. Mr. Haley has expended a handſome fortune in erecting the expenſive wall before mentioned, wharves, and other uſeful works. Among theſe are a wind-mill, rope-walk, 270 feet long, ſalt-works, erected before the war, a bake-houſe, brewery, diſtillery, built in 1783, and a blackſmith's and cooper's ſhop. Theſe works, in conſequence of the unproſperous ſtate of theſe iſlands, are all going to decay.

On Star iſland, are eleven dwelling-houſes, if they may be ſo called. Four excepted, they appear to be, of all abodes of human beings, the moſt loathſome. In the fall of 1800, by the hand of charity, they received ſome ſlight repairs. Interſperſed among theſe, are ten other buildings for curing and ſtoring fiſh.

FISHERIES.] Before the war, when the iſlands were in a flouriſhing ſtate, there were annually caught here, and cured for the market, from *three* to *four thouſand* quintals of fiſh. At that time, ſeven or eight ſchooners, beſides boats, were employed in this buſineſs; and ſome uſed to extend their fiſhing voyages to the banks of Newfoundland.

About the year 1730, and afterwards, the fiſheries on theſe iſlands increaſed to that degree, that three or four ſhips uſed to load here, annually, with winter and ſpring merchantable fiſh, for Bilboa, in Spain, and ſmaller veſſels for other places. Beſides, a large quantity of cod and ſcale fiſh were carried to Portſmouth, for the Weſt-India market.*

The uſual drink of the fiſhermen, at that period, was a liquor which they called *bounce*, compoſed of two thirds *ſpruce beer* and one third *wine*. But, in a courſe of years, they gradually left off the uſe of this wholeſome drink, and ſubſtituted in its place, ardent ſpirits, which has been a principal

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Eſq.

a principal mean of the lamentable degeneracy of theſe people.†

Whale-boats, only, are now employed in this fiſhery. In the autumn of 1800, 13 boats, 10 owned on Star, and three on Haley's iſland, belonged to theſe iſlanders. From a thouſand to fifteen hundred quintals of fiſh are caught here annually; from 100 to 250 quintals of which are what is called *winter* or *dumb fiſh*. In the winter and ſpring of 1800, when bait was plenty, and the ſeaſon favourable, about 300 quintals of winter fiſh were taken; in 1788, when bait was ſcarce, and the ſeaſon bad, only thirty-five quintals were caught.

The winter or dumb fiſh are thought, by the fiſhermen, to be a "fairer, larger, and thicker fiſh," than thoſe caught in the ſame places in ſummer. This difference may probably be ſatisfactorily accounted for, from the difference in the ſeaſon of the year. The winter and ſummer fiſh are doubtleſs of the ſame ſpecies. They are cured alſo in the ſame manner, except that the former, on account of the coldneſs of the weather, require leſs ſalt. The trouble of taking and curing the winter fiſh is much greater than of the ſummer, becauſe the days are ſhorter, and the ſeaſon unfavourable for drying them. The hardſhips endured in taking the winter fiſh are inconceivable by all but eye witneſſes. In ſummer, the fiſhing is carried on chiefly in the night.

The following is the proceſs of making the fiſh.

The fiſh, in the firſt place, are thrown from the boats in piles on the ſhore. The *cutter* then takes them and cuts their throats, and rips open their bellies. In this ſtate he hands them to the *header*, who takes out the entrails, (detaching the livers, which are preſerved for the ſake of the oil they contain) and breaks off their heads. The *ſplitter* then takes out the back-bone, and ſplits them completely open, and hands them to the *ſalter*, who ſalts and piles them in bulk, where they lie from ten to twenty hours, as is moſt convenient. The ſhoremen and the women then waſh and ſpread them on the flakes. Here they remain three or four weeks, according to the weather; during which time they are often turned, piled in faggots, and

† MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Eſq.

and then ſpread again, till they are completely cured for the market.

The winter or dumb fiſh lie from ten to fourteen days in ſalt, and are very carefully dried, and ſecured in bad weather. The ſeaſon for catching and curing theſe fiſh is from February to May, as the weather will allow.

The haddock and hake (there is a great reſemblance between theſe fiſhes) are caught in ſummer and fall, during the night. They lie in pickle from twelve to thirty-ſix hours, and then are *dry ſalted*; after which they are ſpread upon the flakes; and in good weather, their cure is completed in a week.

The fiſh of all kinds, made on theſe iſlands, have the preference in market, and command a higher price. The dumb fiſh is conſumed chiefly in New-England, and is conſidered, by connoiſſeurs in fiſh, the beſt in the world. Its price is from ſix to ten dollars a quintal.

The hake is ſhipped to the Weſt-Indies, to Spain, &c. The price at the Shoals is commonly about *two dollars* a quintal. The ſpring fiſh, which is next in quality to the dumb fiſh, is uſually ſent to Madeira. The ſummer cod-fiſh, called Jamaica fiſh, which goes to the Weſt-Indies, is about three dollars a quintal.

From the year 1754, to 1771, it appears from the records, that the ſalary of the Rev. Mr. Tucke was paid him in merchantable winter fiſh, a quintal a man. There were from eighty to a hundred men then on theſe iſlands; and a quintal of fiſh was eſtimated at a guinea. His ſalary was conſidered, in his ſituation, as one of the moſt valuable, at that time, in New-England.

MISCELLANIES, HISTORICAL AND HUMOROUS.] Mr. *William Pepperell*, and a Mr. *Gibbons*, from Topſham, in the weſt of England, two reſpectable gentlemen, were among the firſt ſettlers at the Shoals. For a year or two they carried on the fiſheries in this place. They ſoon found it too limited for their views, and concluded to remove to ſome part of the main. To determine them whither they ſhould go, they ſet up each a ſtick, and left them to fall as *Providence* ſhould direct. *Pepperell*'s fell N. W. *Gibbons*'s fell towards the N. E. Each purſued, with enthuſiaſm, the courſe his ſtick pointed him; and the former eſtabliſhed

himſelf at the mouth of Piſcataway river; the latter is ſaid to have obtained a grant of the tract, ſince called the *Waldo Patent.**

The following curious petition, &c. with the annexed remarks, were handed to the writer of the foregoing, by the Hon. David Sewall, Eſq. of York.

"*The humble petition of Richard Cutt and —— Cutting, ſheweth*, That *John Renolds*, contrary to an act in court, that *no women ſhall live upon the Iſle of Shoals*, hath brought his wife thither, with an intention there to live and abide; and hath alſo brought upon Hog Iſland, a great ſtock of goats and hogs, which doth not only ſpoile and deſtroy much fiſh, to the great damage of ſeveral others, and likewiſe many of your petitioners; but alſo doth ſpoile *the ſpring of water* that is on that iſland, by making it unfit or ſerviceable for any manner of uſe, *which is the only relief and ſuſtenance of all the reſt of the iſlands*. Your petitioners, therefore, pray that the ſaid Renolds may be ordered to remove his ſaid goats and ſwine from the iſlands forthwith. Alſo that the act of court, before mentioned, may be put in execution, to the *removal of all women from inhabiting there*; and your petitioners ſhall pray, &c."

Order of Court on the above.

"Whereas, by the abovementioned requeſt, the general complaint of the chief of the fiſhermen, and others, of the Iſle of Shoals, that it is a great annoyance and prejudice for Mr. John Renolds to keep his ſwine and goats at the Iſle of Shoals; it is by mutual conſent of this court ordered, that Mr. Renolds ſhall, within twenty days, remove his ſwine and goats, that he hath at Hog Iſland, from thence, or any of thoſe iſlands, that are inhabited with fiſhermen. And as for *the removal of his wife*, it is thought fit, if no further complaint come againſt her, *ſhe may as yet enjoy the company of her huſband*. Dated the 20th of Oct. 1647."

Why a reſolve or ordinance ſhould have been made to prevent the reſidence of women at the Shoals, is left to conjecture. That there was, in fact, ſuch a reſolve, (although it is not to be found on record,) ſeems to be recognized by the court, in their order on Cutt and Cutting's petition againſt

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Eſq.

againſt Renolds. Perhaps ſome women of looſe morals had occaſionally gone thither, and diſturbed the inhabitants; a repreſentation of which to the legiſlature (who, concerned for the morals of the people, appear to have exerciſed ſome extraordinary powers on certain occaſions) may have induced them to paſs ſuch a reſolve. On the records of Maine, is a precept from the court to a conſtable of Saco, to forbid a certain man, who was reported to be a married man, and to have left his wife in England, from paying his addreſſes to a widow woman, or even to go into her company; and upon his perſiſting, after ſuch notice, to carry him before a magiſtrate, to give bonds to comply with the order.

While Mr. Brock reſided at the Shoals, he perſuaded the people to enter into an agreement, that, beſides the Lord's-day, they would ſpend one day in every month together, in the worſhip of God. On a certain day, which, by their agreement, was to be devoted to the exerciſes of religion, the fiſhermen came to Mr. Brock, and requeſted that they might put by their meeting that day, and go a fiſhing, becauſe they had loſt many days by the foulneſs of the weather. He pointed out to them the impropriety of their requeſt, and endeavoured to convince them that it would be far better for them to ſtay at home and worſhip God, according to their agreement, than to go a fiſhing. Notwithſtanding his remonſtrances, however, *five* only conſented to ſtay at home, and *thirty* determined to go. Upon this, Mr. Brock addreſſed them thus: "As for you, "who are determined to neglect your duty to God, and "go a fiſhing, *I ſay unto you, catch fiſh if you can.* But as for "you, who will tarry and worſhip the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "I will pray unto him for you, that you may *catch fiſh till* "*you are weary.*" Accordingly the *thirty* who went from the meeting, with all their ſkill, caught, through the whole day, but *four* fiſhes; while the *five*, who tarried and attended divine ſervice, afterwards went out and caught *five hundred.**

"A fiſherman, who had with his boat been very helpful

* This ſtory is related from Mather's Magnalia, as "credibly atteſted," by the Rev. Mr. Fitch, of Portſmouth, in a ſermon preached at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Tucke, July 26, 1732.

ful to carry people over a river for the worſhip of God, on the Lord's-day, in the Iſles of Shoals, loſt his boat in a ſtorm. The poor man lamented his loſs to Mr. Brock, who told him, "Go home, honeſt man, I will mention the matter to the Lord; you will have your boat againſt to-morrow." Mr. B. now conſidering of what conſequence this matter, that ſeemed ſo ſmall otherwiſe, might be among the untractable fiſhermen, made the *boat* an article of his prayers; and behold, on the morrow, the poor man came to him rejoicing that his boat was found; the anchor of another veſſel, that was undeſignedly caſt upon it, having ſtrangely brought it up, from the unknown bottom, where it had been ſunk."*

During the miniſtry of the Rev. Mr. Moody at the Shoals, one of the fiſhing ſhallops, with all hands on board, was loſt in a N. E. ſtorm in Ipſwich bay. Mr. Moody, anxious to improve this melancholly event, for the awakening of thoſe of his hearers, who were expoſed to the like diſaſter, addreſſed them in the following language, adapted to their occupation and underſtanding: "Suppoſing, my brethren, any of you ſhould be taken ſhort in the bay, in a N. E. ſtorm,† your hearts trembling with fear, and nothing but death before you, whither would your thoughts turn? what would you do?"—"What would I do," replied one of theſe hardy ſons of Neptune, "why I ſhould immediately hoiſt the foreſail and ſcud away for Squam."‡

At a time when the famous *Low* and other pirates infeſted the American coaſt, they proved very troubleſome to the fiſhermen at the Shoals, though they could obtain but little booty from them. One of theſe fiſhermen, (Charles Randall) with others, were taken by them, and having no property, theſe barbarous pirates whipped them with much ſeverity; after which they ſaid to them, "You know old Dr. Cotton Mather, do you?"—"Yes," they replied,

* Mather's Magnalia.

† It muſt be noted, that when theſe fiſhermen are overtaken in the bay, between Cape Ann and the Shoals, in a N. E. ſtorm, and the wind is ſo violent, that they cannot carry ſail ſo as to beat in againſt it, *Squam* harbour, on the north ſide of Cape Ann, is their dernier reſort.

‡ C. Chauncey's MS. Letter.

replied, "we have heard of him as a very good man." "Well, then," ſaid the pirates, "our orders are to make each of you jump up three times, and to ſay each time, "*Curſe Parſon Mather*," otherwiſe you are all to be hanged." To ſave their lives, they all complied. This information the writer of the letter had from Randall himſelf.†

A worthy deacon, reading the following line in the old verſion of the Pſalms,

"And I know more than all the *Ancients* do"—

read, by miſtake, thus,

"And I know more than all the *Indians* do"—

one of the aſſembly, who had more wit than piety, acquainted with the *craftineſs* and *ſhrewdneſs* of Indians, roſe and addreſſed the good deacon, in a loud voice, "If you do, you are a plaguy cunning man."‡

At an early period after the ſettlement of theſe iſlands, tradition ſays, that a houſe, belonging to a Mr. *Tucker*, ſituated on the rocks near the water, on Haley's iſland,* during a violent ſtorm, was waſhed from its foundation, and carried entire to Cape Cod, where it was taken up, and a box of linen, papers, &c. taken out of it, by which it was diſcovered whence it came. The family had juſt time to eſcape before the houſe went off.

HISTORY.] Theſe iſlands, as has been already mentioned, were diſcovered as early as 1614. The convenience of their ſituation for carrying on the fiſheries, which was a principal object of the firſt ſettlers, induced them to fix on theſe iſlands as a place of their firſt ſettlement. Among the firſt inhabitants were the reſpectable names of PEPPERELL and GIBBONS; the former an anceſtor of the celebrated Sir WILLIAM PEPPERELL. The firſt ſettlers of theſe iſlands were a religious people, and felt the importance of having the worſhip of God regularly maintained among them. And it is remarkable, that till the year 1775 there was a conſtant ſucceſſion of preachers of the word on theſe iſlands, though none of them, except Mr. Tucke, was ordained to the paſtoral office in this place.

Sometime before the year 1641, the inhabitants of theſe iſlands erected a meeting-houſe on Hog iſland; and at this period

† C. Chauncey's letter. ‡ Ibid.

* The ſpot where it ſtood is now ſhewn.

period the Rev. Mr. HULL was their miniſter;† he was probably the firſt who preached on theſe iſlands. When he began his miniſtry here, what was his character, and at what time he died or removed, is unknown.

About the year 1650, the Rev. John Brock was invited to take the paſtoral charge of the people on theſe iſles. This worthy man came over to America when a youth, about the year 1637; ſix years after he entered Harvard College; and in 1648 commenced a preacher of the goſpel, firſt at *Rowley*, then he preached at theſe iſlands, till the year 1662, when he removed to Reading, where he continued to miniſter in holy things till June, 1688, when he died, in the 68th year of his age. He was a pious youth, a good man, a laborious miniſter, preaching not only on the ſabbath, but frequent lectures to the members of the church, and to young people. Theſe extraordinary religious exerciſes, he conſidered as means of rendering his public labours effectual to the people of his charge. He was faithful and diligent in his paſtoral viſits; and from his happy talent in converſation, he made them inſtructive and uſeful. So remarkable was he for his piety and holineſs, that it was ſaid of him, by an eminent and venerable divine,‡ that "he dwelt as near heaven as any man upon earth." Like the martyr Stephen, he was "a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghoſt." Several remarkable ſtories, ſome of which are "credibly atteſted," illuſtrative of his great piety, and of the efficacy of his prayers, are recorded by Dr. Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia. Some of theſe are related under another head.

After the removal of Mr. Brock, the Rev. Mr. Belcher, a "worthy and excellent man,"* preached for ſome time to the people on theſe iſlands.

It was about this time that the inhabitants on Hog iſland, either through fear of the Indians, who frequented Duck iſland, and thence made their plundering excurſions upon them, and carrying into captivity their women, while they were abroad, a fiſhing, or from ſome other cauſe, deſerted that iſland, and removed to Star Iſland, as a place of

† Neil's Hiſtory of New-England, vol. I. page 196.

‡ Rev. Mr. J. Mitchell, of Cambridge.

* Mr. Fitch's ſermon, before mentioned.

of greater ſafety. Here they erected a new meeting-houſe, 28 by 48 feet, with a bell; and ſome years afterwards (in 1706) invited Mr. Moody, a native of Saliſbury, Maſſachuſetts, to be their miniſter. He was a man of piety, and a pathetic and uſeful preacher, and remained here till 1733, when he left the Shoals, and ſettled as a ſchool-maſter at Hampton, and afterwards at Newburyport, where he died of an apoplexy, April 17, 1768, aged 82 years. To him ſucceeded the Rev. John Tucke, who commenced his miniſterial labours at the Shoals about the year 1730. In December of the following year, they gave him a unanimous call to ſettle among them in the work of the miniſtry, and offered him a very generous ſupport.*

Mr.

* The following extracts from the town records of Star iſland, alias *Goſport*, are inſerted as highly honorary to the character of thoſe concerned in the tranſactions recorded.

1731. The freeholders, being legally warned, met on the 13th of December, 1731, and unanimouſly choſe Rev. John Tooke† to be their miniſter.

They voted to give him a ſalary of £.110, money or bills of credit, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God to continue him among us in the work of the miniſtry, nem. con. Voted to pay Mr. Tooke two thirds of his ſalary by the laſt of May, annually; and one third by the laſt of September.

Voted, to give Mr. Tooke £.50 in money, by the laſt of May next, towards building him a houſe, if he chooſe to build a houſe himſelf; but in caſe he ſhould hereafter remove, Mr. Tooke to give to the inhabitants the refuſal of purchaſing the houſe, and to abate £.50 in the price.

[N. B. This houſe was taken down by Mr. Tooke's ſon-in-law, and carried to O. York, about the year 1780.]

Voted to *give* Mr. T. a convenient place to ſet his houſe upon, and a garden ſpot, where he may chooſe.

[N. B. This was on the top of the hill, near the meeting-houſe, and is ſtill reſerved as a parſonage lot.]

Voted, to proceed to the ordination of Mr. Tooke, at a convenient time in the ſpring, in caſe of his acceptance of our call.

1732. *April 28th.* The freeholders of the town of Goſport, alias Star iſland, at a legal meeting, renewed their call to Mr. Tooke, and confirmed their former offer of ſupport, with the addition, ☞ That as the value of money ſhall fall, we will make the aforeſaid one hundred and ten pounds as good as it now is, and will be ready to enlarge his ſalary as his circumſtances ſhall require, and our own abilities allow. [An honourable evidence of their diſpoſition to do juſtice.]

Voted,

† The true ſpelling of this name is *Tucke*.

Mr. Tucke was ordained to the work of the miniſtry, with the unanimous conſent of the people, being the firſt and only miniſter of the goſpel who was ordained to the paſtoral

Voted, that Mr. T's ſalary ſhould begin the 1ſt day of October laſt.

Voted, that we will give the Rev. John Tooke a conſtant contribution during his miniſtry among us; the money that ſhall be marked ſhall go towards his ſalary; and the money that ſhall not be marked, ſhall be given.

Voted, that we will give Mr. Tooke the privilege of keeping one cow on the aboveſaid iſland.

The 26th of the next July was fixed for the ordination, provided the weather ſhould permit the people on ſhore to come over; if not, the firſt ſuitable time after.

Voted, that the 13th day of July next, be obſerved as a day of faſting and prayer, to beg God's bleſſing on the affair of ſettling a miniſter among us.

A committee was appointed to make proviſion for carrying into effect the foregoing votes.

[N. B. Mr. Thomas Lambert was appointed to record theſe votes. They are in a very neat hand-writing, well ſpelt, and correct in compoſition. The whole proceedings remarkably regular.]

Letter to the Reverend John Tooke.

The freeholders and inhabitants of Star iſland, alias Goſport, aſſembled at the meeting-houſe, on ſaid iſland, this 28th day of April, wiſhing health.

Sir,

We at this meeting have voted and agreed to ſundry things, which, by the encloſed, you will be acquainted with. Mr. Andrew Chace, ſen. and Mr. Samuel Emmery, are a committee to bring your anſwer to this meeting, that we may proceed farther, as to what is neceſſary and remaining. We beg you will ſend your anſwer as ſoon as poſſible, being all waiting. We remain your moſt humble ſervants,

John Michamere,
Wm. Michamere, } Selectmen.
Ambroſe Downs,

Anſwer.

To the freeholders and inhabitants of Star iſland, alias Goſport, this 28th day of April, aſſembled at the meeting-houſe on ſaid iſland.

Brethren,

It is ſome time ſince you called me to the work of the miniſtry among you; to which call, by reaſon of many diſcouragements, and withal the very heavy ſtroke of Divine Providence, which has befallen me among you, has deferred my anſwer till this time; and now, by the committee ſent to me by you, I underſtand that you have both renewed that call, and confirmed former offers; and alſo hoping that there is a proſpect of doing good among you, I, relying on the ſtrength of

paſtoral office in this place.* Among the miniſters, who aſſiſted at his ordination, was the Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, who, in the courſe of the ordination ſervice, uſed the following pertinent expreſſions: "Good Lord, thou haſt founded a church here upon a rock; may the gates of hell never prevail againſt it.‡

Theſe iſlands, in former times, were in a very reſpectable and flouriſhing ſtate. The inhabitants were induſtrious, prudent, temperate, and regular and decent in their attendance on the inſtitutions of religion. They had magiſtrates and other officers annually choſen by the people, to execute their wholeſome laws and regulations, and to maintain order and peace in the ſociety.† The inhabitants were reſpectful, kind, and generous to their miniſter; and conſidering the nature of their employment, and their conſequent habits, they dwelt together in a good degree of harmony. Such appears to have been the proſperous and happy ſtate of the inhabitants of theſe iſlands, particularly during the miniſtry of Mr. Tucke. This good man died, deeply and univerſally lamented, on the 12th of Auguſt, 1773; having buried his wife two months before. They "were

of divine grace, accept of your call to me. But, brethren, I muſt ſay to you as in 1 Cor. 9, 14. *So hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the goſpel, ſhould live of the goſpel.* The ſame I expect amongſt you. I deſire your prayers for me. In praying for me, you will pray for yourſelves. The Apoſtle ſays, 1ſt of Theſſalonians, 5. 25. *Brethren, pray for us.* And I hope that my poor prayers will be to God for you. I hope to ſay with the Apoſtle, Col. 1. 9. *I do not ceaſe to pray for you, and to deſire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wiſdom and ſpiritual underſtanding.*

I am yours to ſerve in the goſpel,

Goſport, April 28, 1732. JOHN TOOKE.

Voted, that every fall of the year, when Rev. Mr. John Tooke has his wood to carry home, every man who will not come, that is able to come, ſhall pay forty ſhillings old tenor.

* Mr. Fitch's Sermon, preached from Matth. iv. 19. at his ordination.

‡ Judge Sewall's letter to the author.

† Their records inform, that the following officers were annually choſen: A moderator, three ſelectmen, a conſtable, town-clerk, two tything-men, two cullers of fiſh, and two corders of wood.

"were lovely and pleaſant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided."

Mr. Tucke was a man of an affable and amiable diſpoſition, of eaſy and polite manners, of humble and unaffected piety, of diligence and fidelity in the ſervice of the miniſtry. He was "given to hoſpitality, and apt to teach." In hiſtory and geography he was eminently learned, beyond moſt of his cotemporaries. He acted in the double capacity of phyſician of body and of ſoul. In imitation of his Divine Maſter, he went about doing good among all claſſes of the people of his charge, and his labours were not in vain in the Lord. Under his nurturing, paſtoral care; his people increaſed in numbers and in wealth, in knowledge, piety and reſpectability. Few pariſhes in New-England, at this period, gave a more generous ſupport to their miniſter, and few congregations were more conſtant and exemplary in their attendance on public worſhip. Such is the account of the character of this venerable man, and of the fruits of his labours, which I have received from many aged and reſpectable people, who were perſonally acquainted with him.

Shortly after the death of Mr. Tucke, the Rev. Jeremiah Shaw was invited to preach on theſe iſlands, and here he remained, for the greater part of the time, till the diſperſion of the inhabitants in 1775. The troubles occaſioned by the war, with ſome other cauſes, prevented his ſettling here, agreeably to the wiſhes of the people.

Since this period, ſo ſmall have been the numbers, and ſo impoveriſhed the circumſtances of theſe iſlanders, that they have not had the ability, and, by degrees, have loſt the diſpoſition, to ſupport the ordinances of religion. The laws and regulations, by which their fathers were governed, and which were means of preſerving order and harmony in their little commonwealth, were laid aſide. The people neglected the annual choice of town officers. They had no regular ſchools for the education of their children. The ſabbath was neglected and profaned. In conſequence of theſe deviations from the "old paths and good ways" of their fathers, the people rapidly degenerated. The vices of curſing and ſwearing, drunkenneſs, quarrelling, and diſobedience to parents, became, in an awful degree, prevalent.

prevalent. The people have grown up in a great degree ignorant of the great doctrines and duties of religion, and of the firſt rudiments of ſcience and letters; and, in the near neighbourhood of Chriſtians, were degenerating faſt to a ſtate of heatheniſm.

The deplorable ſtate of theſe people, in a moral and religious view, was made known to the "Society for propagating the Goſpel," in Boſton; and immediately, at their expenſe, a miſſionary was engaged, who ſpent three months among them, at the cloſe of the year 1799. In the ſummer of 1800, the Society ſent one of their own members, to inquire into the circumſtances of theſe people, with a view to afford them the neceſſary relief and inſtruction. In conſequence of his report, and the advice of *Dudley A. Tyng*, Eſq. of Newburyport, who has been the prime mover and agent, in all the proceedings for the benefit of theſe poor people, a ſubſcription was opened for the purpoſe of raiſing money to erect a place of worſhip on theſe iſlands. Gentlemen of humane feelings and of liberality, in Salem, Newburyport, Portſmouth, Exeter, Ipſwich, Boſton, and Charleſtown, in the two places firſt named eſpecially, ſubſcribed generouſly; and from the avails, an edifice of ſtone, with a cupola, was erected in September and October, 1800, on the higheſt ſpot on Star iſland, which anſwers the treble purpoſe of a place of worſhip, a ſchool-houſe, and a land-mark for ſeamen.* At the ſame time, theſe ſuffering people received a liberal ſupply of clothing, bedding, wood, &c. from a number of charitable people in Newburyport, Salem, and Charleſtown. The ſociety for propagating the goſpel, and ſeveral bookſellers in Boſton, gave books and ſtationary ſuited to their circumſtances, ſufficient, with proper uſage, to laſt ſeveral years. A miſſionary, (Mr. *Joſiah Stevens*) under commiſſion from the Society

* This houſe is 36 feet long, and 24 wide, on the outſide. The walls are two feet thick, and eleven in height in the clear; the whole building is painted white. The inſide is finiſhed in a plain ſtile, and furniſhed with a ſtove, for the accommodation of the ſchool in winter. This houſe was dedicated, in a formal and ſolemn manner, on the 14th of Nov. 1800. The ſermon was preached, and the other ſervices performed, on this occaſion, by the Rev. J. Morſe, D. D. of Charleſtown. His diſcourſe was founded on Pſalm cxviii. 25. "*O Lord, I beſeech thee, ſend now proſperity.*"

Society for propagating the goſpel, went to theſe iſlands in April, 1801, preaches on the ſabbath, and has a ſchool of about thirty ſcholars during the week, and is evidently in a ſphere of great uſefulneſs.

From the diſperſion of the inhabitants of theſe iſles in 1775, till November 14, 1800, the few, who remained, had lived, for the moſt part, without law or order, deſtitute of the means of religious or moral inſtruction, and had, of courſe, degenerated into a pitiable ſtate of ignorance, poverty, anarchy, and wickedneſs. At the period laſt mentioned, when their new meeting-houſe was dedicated, the inhabitants aſſembled, and, by the written compact annexed,* formed themſelves into a ſocial ſtate, and, in a formal manner, pledged themſelves to abide by certain regulations, and elected two of their number, as aſſeſſors, who, with the miſſionary, for the time being, were inveſted with power to carry ſaid compact into effect.

In conſequence of all theſe things, theſe iſlands are renovating in their appearance; and a hope is entertained, that they will ſoon riſe to their former ſtate of regularity, and reſpectability. Should Maſſachuſetts and New-Hampſhire cede their right in theſe iſlands to the United States, (a plan which ſome have contemplated,) and the federal government ſhould think it expedient to eſtabliſh them as a *free port*, and form a harbour, and erect the neceſſary fortifications and lights, they would ſoon become a place of much importance to the United States.

NOTE.

* *Articles of Agreement entered into by the Inhabitants of the Iſles of Shoals, Nov.* 14, 1800.

WHEREAS the iſlands now commonly called *the Iſles of Shoals*, but heretofore named *Smith's Iſlands*, in honour of the renowned Capt. JOHN SMITH, who firſt diſcovered them, have fallen into a lamentable ſtate of decay, ſince the revolution war; and the inhabitants, from their extreme poverty, and other unhappy circumſtances, have long been deſtitute of the means of religious and moral inſtruction; and whereas ſome pious and charitable perſons

perſons have generouſly erected a commodious and durable building, to be ſolely appropriated to the public inſtruction of the inhabitants, and the Maſſachuſetts Society for propagating the Goſpel have appointed a miſſionary to reſide at the ſaid iſlands, as a religious and moral teacher to the inhabitants, and an inſtructor of the youth; and whereas there is ground to hope for further charities from the ſaid ſociety, and other humane and benevolent perſons, ſhould the good effects of their preſent bounty be viſible in the improvement of the morals, manners, and converſation of the inhabitants; and whereas from the local ſituation of the ſaid iſlands, it is very difficult to reſort to the laws for the deciſion of diſputes which unavoidably ariſe:

We the ſaid inhabitants do hereby ſolemnly and mutually covenant and agree with each other in the following articles, all which we promiſe to obſerve and keep, viz.

Firſt. We engage to treat with kindneſs and reſpect all ſuch worthy and godly perſons as ſhall come to inſtruct and reform us; to render them as comfortable as we can, and to attend with ſobriety and diligence on all their inſtructions, whether the ſame be public in the meeting-houſe, or private and perſonal in our own houſes.

Second. We engage that our children ſhall alſo attend the ſchool at the ſtated hours, and that we will, by ſetting them ſober and good examples, and by needful corrections, labour to make them better, as well as more decent and mannerly in their behaviour.

Third. We promiſe our beſt endeavours to abſtain from all brawling, quarrelling, profane ſwearing and curſing, drunkenneſs, idleneſs, diſhoneſty, and all other conduct which is offenſive to God, and all good beings.

Fourth. Should any diſputes ariſe amongſt any of us, we promiſe to ſubmit the ſame to the deciſion of the miſſionary for the time being, and two aſſeſſors, who ſhall be annually choſen in the month of January; and we promiſe to abide by, and perform their award touching ſuch diſputes.

Fifth. The houſe lot and garden, heretofore occupied by the Rev. Mr. Tucke, ſhall be forever appropriated to the uſe of the public teacher for the time being.

ECCLESIASTICAL

Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts and the old Colony of Plymouth.

Preface.

DR. Mather wrote an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this country, a large book, now very rarely ſeen. The facts are communicated in ſo ſtrange a ſtyle, and mingled with ſo many oddities of opinion and fabulous repreſentations, that few are diſpoſed to look into it for the ſake of the information. Many things, there related, the candid reader imputes to the weakneſs of the age; the moſt candid will ſee, too often, the prejudices and falſe zeal of the author.

Mr. Neal publiſhed his hiſtory of New-England in 1719. It is well written, and deſerves more credit than Hutchinſon allows, when he ſays, it is only an *abridgement of the Magnalia Americana.* It is an impartial and entertaining account of their civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs. Some things are contained in it, which were not known either to Dr. Cotton Mather, or any other writer of this "American ſtrand."

It is ſuperior in ſtyle to the later work of Gov. Hutchinſon, though the materials for hiſtory were much greater which this gentleman poſſeſſed; and we are indebted to him for many facts, in the early periods of the ſettlement, which, but for his care, would have been entirely loſt; alſo for a fund of information, concerning the country, after he had become a leader in the public tranſactions.

The compiler of the preſent work confines himſelf to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, having conſulted many old MSS. beſide all the printed accounts of the congregational churches; and he prefers to publiſh in the Hiſtorical Collections, where many uſeful, intereſting, and important documents are preſerved, which will be of infinite ſervice to future writers, as they have been to himſelf.

After giving an account of the church in New-Plymouth, and the ancient form in Maſſachuſetts, he will conſider the changes which have been made, the prevailing opinions, the controverſies among thoſe of the congregational mode of worſhip, as well as thoſe which have been carried on with

with churches of other denominations; and to exhibit to view the preſent *ſtate* of religion.

Hubbard's MS. has afforded him ſome aſſiſtance, a book excellent of the kind, and which ought to have been printed many years ago, for its hiſtorical information, and the reputation of the author. He was the beſt writer in New-England while he lived; learned, judicious, and capable of giving a proper arrangement to his facts. With exception to a few quaint expreſſions, common to all the puritan divines in England, as well as North-America, this book is valuable for the compoſition. Why was it never publiſhed? He left it complete, and a fair copy was tranſcribed for the preſs. It fell into the hands of ſome, who were diſpoſed to make a liberal uſe of it for their own purpoſes, and then kept it from the public eye. All who have written any account of Maſſachuſetts, are more indebted to it than they are willing to own; yet there is not even a biographical ſketch of the man to be found. We know, however, that he left behind him a good name, which is better, in the opinion of the wiſe, than any *perfume* or *niche* in the temple of fame.

Section I.

Account of the firſt church in Plymouth. The piety and ſufferings of the planters. The good order of the church, and difficulties attending the ſettlement of a paſtor.

A SPIRIT of enterpriſe has often made the diſcovery of new countries, and to this, combined with a love of ſcience in the breaſt of Columbus, we are indebted for the knowledge of our part of the globe. But it was the love of religion, which prompted the ſettlers of New-England to prefer the wilderneſs of diſtant climes to the eaſe and affluence they could enjoy at home.

It was not their object to open new and rich ſources of commerce, like the merchants and princes of Portugal; nor to plan ſchemes of ſpeculation, which ſo often proved vain and chimerical to individuals of other European nations, when they were ſtimulated by the deſire of gain; but *they* were the faireſt patterns of religious zeal, of firmneſs,

neſs, patience, and heroic virtue: they were men whoſe ſouls were tried by the moſt adverſe circumſtances, and yet not ſubdued by the blows of their adverſity. Their hopes gilded the ſcenes around them; and while they looked at the *land of promiſe*, they were more diſtinguiſhed by active and ſocial virtues, than vain contemplations.

According to the Abbe Raynal, "*Superſtition* firſt ſettled New-England." He calls every thing *ſuperſtition*, which is of a religious nature. What the beſt writers deſcribe the *ſentiment of the heart*, HE calls the effuſion of a *weak mind*. That which has been conſidered in all ages, and by men of the moſt enlarged underſtanding, as the offspring of heaven, is confounded by him with the creatures of a vain imagination. He might have ſaid, it was the "concuſſion of religious opinions," which is a favourite expreſſion of his, upon ſome occaſions, and come near the truth, as well as ſaved his reflections upon chriſtianity.

Another writer goes further than the Abbe R. and calumniates the character of our anceſtors in every reſpect; for he ſays, "the inhabitants of America are of a bad ſtock, from the dupes of *puritanick cant*, from four, taſteleſs aſceticks, whoſe tempers deſired anarchy while at home, and practiſed intolerance abroad."*

This man ſeems to have an idea, that the religious ſpirit is an *innate traditional* evil, which he would find a miſtake if he had tarried long enough in the country to obſerve *our manners*, inſtead of running through the States for the ſake of telling the world how far he had travelled. It is well known, that too many of the preſent generation are wholly unmindful of the principles and practices of their fathers; and too many join in the ſarcaſms of the French philoſophy, or ſome other ſtyle, *as anti-puritanick* as this writer would wiſh, when they are told what *grave and good men their fathers were*:—Pious men, who made this declaration, "that it was for the glory of God, and the propagation of the goſpel, that they tranſplanted themſelves from his Majeſty's dominions to theſe *almoſt unknown regions of the weſt*." The

* The author above mentioned freely grants, that theſe men were the beſt progenitors of the preſent race of Americans; for he ſays, "the tranſported felons, who contributed to ſettle Virginia, have left behind them a race of drunken, gambling, lewd, rapacious ſpendthrifts; keen, quick, courageous, hoſpitable race." *Don Von Bulow.*

The form of church government our fathers preferred was completely congregational; this has diſtinguiſhed the churches in Maſſachuſetts and the old Colony from the other churches which have been formed, and approached more or leſs to the Preſbyterian eſtabliſhment. They did not chooſe to be called Independents. This name the churches of Maſſachuſetts diſclaimed, as we ſee frequently in their charges to candidates for the miniſtry, though it might have been given them with ſome propriety, as moſt of Mr. Robinſon's church had been Puritans of the moſt rigid ſeparation, in a former reign. When they came to America, however, they poſſeſſed ſentiments of moderation, which would do honour to any denomination of Chriſtians. Vid. his addreſs in Prince's Annals.

We muſt aſcend to the firſt reformers, to get an idea of the principles and motives of ſeparation from the other proteſtant churches, and which diſtinguiſhed thoſe who have been ſtyled, in later times, the members of the congregational eſtabliſhment. The reformation was gradually introduced into England. King Henry the VIIIth, though he caſt off the Pope's ſupremacy, and happily introduced the ſcriptures for the uſe of the people, retained in his heart a fondneſs for the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, and was too haughty a deſpot to have his will diſputed. In the reign of Edward the VIth, whoſe character the friends of virtue are ſo fond of delineating, and whoſe premature death cauſed ſo many tears of humanity to be ſhed, the work of reformation ſucceeded. Thoſe who conducted it were liberal and devout men, and wiſhed to make the ſacred ſcriptures the guide of their faith and practice, and to diffuſe them among all the claſſes of the community. But the light of truth was ſoon obſcured, and the day, which was uſhered in with ſuch a bright and beautiful morning, hung heavily in clouds: For Mary, a weak and malicious bigot, became a Queen. During her reign, all, who were attached to civil or religious freedom, ſuffered; and it was a crime to love one's country. In an iſland, where ſo many have thought it decorous to die for it, this was made a terrible crime; the torch of perſecution flamed againſt all who diſſented from the minuteſt ceremonies of the Romiſh church; and no wonder that the reformers

were inveloped in the thickeſt dangers. Some poured out their blood on the ſcaffold, many hung their harps upon the willows in a foreign land.

When Queen Elizabeth ſucceeded to the kingdom, upon the death of her ſiſter, the reformation was taken up where Edward had left it. It was the deſign of ſeveral eminent perſons to carry on the work to a degree of purity which the national church were not willing to allow: they were deſirous to proceed till the worſhip and diſcipline ſhould be diveſted of thoſe rites and ceremonies, which they looked upon as the inventions of men; and therefore a diſgrace, rather than an ornament, to the church of Chriſt. If they could not obtain what they *moſt* earneſtly deſired, *to have theſe uninſtituted rites entirely excluded, and their worſhip reduced to its primitive ſimplicity*; yet they pleaded to have *things left indifferent*, which were ſo in their *nature*.

But a moſt powerful party ſprung up to oppoſe them. It was the intereſt of ſuch as diſliked the reformation, to prevent a further receſſion from the church of Rome than was contemplated by ſome, and they joined their power and influence to ſet aſide the views of the Puritans. The Queen was fond of ſhow and pomp in religion, and ſoon declared herſelf on the ſide of thoſe who were ready to eſtabliſh a national church, with many gorgeous appendages: and being importuned by the high church party; being alſo imperious in her own temper, obſtinate in her prejudices, and impatient of contradiction; ſhe ſet herſelf not only to reſtrain, but to puniſh thoſe who reſiſted her will. The eſtabliſhment would have been eaſily borne, had thoſe who differed been allowed to worſhip God in their own way, or according to the dictates of their conſciences. But ſuch an intolerant ſpirit prevailed, that if any ſcrupled entire conformity, or uſed a form except that contained in the *book* of common prayer, they were ſilenced and fined, deprived, cenſured and impriſoned.

Some time elapſed in fruitleſs expectation of better days; then, as their own condition grew intolerable, they were induced to ſeparate not only from the church of England, but from a government that was ſo arbitrary. They formed a church on independent principles, and ſet themſelves down in Holland; where, for ſome years, they enjoyed

joyed the pleaſures of religious freedom, and contemplated the great events which were conceiving in the womb of Providence.

The firſt congregational church, ſince the days of primitive chriſtianity, was gathered at Geneva, and the Rev. William Whittingham was choſen paſtor; a famous Puritan, who fled from England in the reign of Queen Mary, leaving an eſtate of £.1100 ſterling a year, which was a great eſtate in thoſe times, and ſhews how conſcientious principles will ſubdue the paſſion of avarice in good minds.

It is very wrong to claſs the *Congregational* churches with the *Browniſts*. Though individuals had been connected with Brown, and, ſuppoſing him honeſt and zealous in the cauſe of truth, had not been ſenſible enough of the conſequences where there is ſuch a latitude of opinion and imprudence of conduct, yet the churches in general diſclaimed that church anarchy which it was his deſign to introduce, nor were they guilty of the like extravagances.

Oldmixon ſtyles the members of Mr. Robinſon's churches, in general, *Browniſts*; and ſays that they were driven to the extreme they went, by the perſecution of the *high church party*. And, as though this was againſt their reputation, Mr. Prince takes pains to exculpate them. But whatever Mr. Robinſon might have written in favour of eccleſiaſtical democracy, it is evident *his* character is very good; and why ſhould this bring any diſcredit upon the New-England churches, who conducted all their eccleſiaſtical buſineſs with decency and order?

When James aſcended the throne, the Puritans flattered themſelves they ſhould have indulgence at leaſt, if they were not openly patroniſed and ſupported; as he had been educated a Preſbyterian, and frequently had ſpoken againſt the Epiſcopal church. But they ſoon found their miſtake. Arbitrary in his diſpoſition, and puſhed on by an intolerant bigotted clergy, he was inimical equally to civil and religious liberty. He carried his meaſures with a higher hand than his predeceſſor had done in the plenitude of her power and ſelf-complacency; whoſe wiſdom was much greater, and who was much better acquainted with the people of England. Her nobleneſs of diſpoſition, alſo, made her aſhamed of many things which were quite congenial

genial to his weak mind. Thoſe who had emigrated to Holland, ſeeing no proſpect of returning to their own country, then turned their thoughts to America. "The reaſons of their removal were debated in public and private; and a very conſiderable part of the church were perſuaded that it was a call from heaven; and had not this ſentiment prevailed, it would have been very difficult to fix their reſolutions and act with unanimity."* Theſe are the words of a worthy writer; and, if we may be allowed to mingle our obſervations with his, may we not ſay, that except a ſenſe of religion has its influence upon mankind, we ſhould *want*, upon occaſions leſs important, *ſomething* to reſt our wearied expectations upon, to animate our hopes, and to prevent uncertain proſpects from ſettling into deſpondency and gloom?

Mr. Neal mentions, as a reaſon why Mr. Robinſon adviſed that they ſhould ſeek out a new ſettlement, the fear leſt the church ſhould be diſſolved, ſeveral members dying, and others mingling with the Dutch. Hence they reſolved to tranſport themſelves to America.

All who write the hiſtory of theſe times allow, that our fathers ſupported a moſt excellent character in Holland. It is much to their credit, that they lived among themſelves, and in peace with their neighbours; and that this teſtimony is given of them, "that for the ten years they lived there, they could bring no ſuit or accuſation againſt them."

In the 95th number of the New-England Courant, a paper printed by the Franklins, is the following letter. "In the year 1610, a number of chriſtians from the north of England, having Mr. John Robinſon for their paſtor, removed to Leyden in Holland, that they might peaceably worſhip God according to the inſtitutions of the goſpel, which they could not do in their own land. Thirteen of this congregation, not liking the baſeneſs of the Dutch, nor to loſe their intereſt in the Engliſh nation, did think and agree about removing acroſs the Atlantick. Part of them were to do it before the reſt, to ſee what encouragement they could find. Accordingly, part of them, among whom was Mr. Brewſter, the aſſiſtant of Mr. Robinſon, removed from Holland the latter end of June, 1620, and arrived at

* Hubbard.

Cape-Cod

Cape-Cod in November, the ſame year. At this place they drew up an engagement, acknowledging themſelves the ſubjects of king James, and combining themſelves into a body politick, and became the firſt colony of New-England. From Cape Cod they went one way and another, to find a convenient place of abode, and at length ſettled together at Plymouth; and were the firſt church in New-England; the only one till 1629."

The character of Mr. Robinſon was very reſpectable in the line of his profeſſion. He had great wiſdom and worth, as we learn from the account, not only of the members of his church, but his other contemporaries, and from his writings. Theſe diſcover a talent for reaſoning, and cloſe attention to theology. Mr. Bradford* ſays that he was prevailed upon by the Calviniſts, to diſpute publickly with Epiſcopius, who led in the controverſy which then engaged the attention of the *reformed churches;* and which has been ſince the cauſe of difference, and frequently a contentious ſpirit, in the churches of America as much as Europe. Epiſcopius was the champion of the doctrines propagated by James Arminius, who was firſt the diſciple of Beza and Calvin, but afterwards changed his opinion, and oppoſed the ſentiments taught in their ſchool. The opinions of Arminius received great ſupport from the reputation and learning of Epiſcopius, who emitted *theſes*, and engaged to defend them againſt *original ſin*, *particular election*, and other points of doctrine. By his zeal and knowledge, his ſkill in managing a controverſy, many of the firſt characters of Leyden, and the Dutch republick, were brought over to the ſame way of thinking, and declared the full conviction of their minds, that the great light of Geneva had miſtaken the ſenſe of the ſcriptures.

Mr. Robinſon ſtepped forward to defend the doctrines of Calvin, and was ſuperior to Epiſcopius, according to the account given of the diſpute by the members of his church. Whether the admirers of Epiſcopius thought ſo, we are not convinced, as no other account of the matter is handed down to us. Perhaps the prejudices of opinion and friendſhip might influence each party to think their champion

* The MS. of Gov. Bradford is loſt, except the few extracts to be found in *Prince's* annals.

champion victorious; and on each ſide might mingle ſhades of error with the light of truth. The zeal of many abſorbed all their *moderation* at that time; and it had the ſame effect upon the deliberations of ſtateſmen, as upon the ſentiments of divines, iſſuing in tumults, as little congenial to true policy, as the ſpirit of the goſpel.*

But it is not connected with my plan, to conſider the ſtate of Europe, or the effect of religious prejudices upon the inhabitants of other countries, only as theſe introduced events, which were combined with the character and conduct of our anceſtors, who were pious men, ſtrictly calviniſtical in their principles, exemplary in their walk and converſation. Whenever they manifeſted more zeal than candour, (which ſome men in all ages have done), it was owing to their attachment to peculiar principles, and thinking others muſt be inconſiſtent and abſurd, who had a different kind of belief.

If Mr. Robinſon was ſelected to manage the diſpute, it ſhews the confidence they had in his abilities. If he thought himſelf equal to the controverſy, his enthuſiaſm was more prominent than his talents; or, to ſay the leaſt, it remains uncertain whether the vigour of his mind or *ſaint-like* zeal were moſt conſpicuous. A bold diſputant may appear by *his manner* to gain an advantage, when he has really weakened his argument by his declamation. Zeal is the firſt thing requiſite for public diſputants when popular aſſemblies are to judge; and he who thinks himſelf in the right ſuppoſes others confuted who differ, whatever opinion candid people, not intereſted in the controverſy, may ſee fit to embrace.

Had Mr. Robinſon came over to Plymouth, it would have been of great advantage to the ſettlement. He had been convinced of ſome of his errors, thoſe obliquities of ſentiment concerning the diſcipline and worſhip of the congregational churches; and he was a man ſo judicious in other reſpects, that he was capable of giving them advice and direction in all their affairs. But it pleaſed heaven to cut ſhort his days in the midſt of his uſefulneſs. We can ſee only a ſhort way into the ſcheme of providence; what we know not now, we may know hereafter. His friends in

* Vid. Hiſtoire medallique des Hollandois.

in Holland were ſoon deprived of his inſtructions and ſociety. And his friends, who longed to hear his voice in this American wilderneſs, which they were ſubduing with great labour, and in the midſt of dangers, had to *ſorrow* that they ſhould ſee his face no more. The news was more grievous to the members of his church, becauſe it came in a time of their mourning for their friends and relatives, who were ſwept away by a raging peſtilence. This was a wound which called up all the feelings of their hearts.

Among the very active and ſenſible perſons of this Leyden congregation, who came over to Plymouth, was Mr. Brewſter, an elderly, worthy man, to whom the colony felt indebted for good ſervices in the firſt period of their ſettlement.

The Engliſh hiſtorians ſpeak of them all as of the rigid ſeparation, and moſt of them had been, without doubt, violent in their oppoſition to the epiſcopal church, eſpecially to their forms and ceremonies, and had blamed the other Puritans for things which only diſcovered more prudence, and were worthy of commendation. Mr. Brewſter acted as elder of the church, but no one was looked upon as their paſtor; and for a long time this firſt church of New-England wanted a man to execute this office. We, who make no ſuch diſtinction of offices, think it ſtrange that there ſhould have been ſuch difference between paſtor and teaching elders; for we ſuppoſe, any man, who can feed the people with knowledge, is qualified for one office equally with another. But it appears from the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this country, that a very great diſtinction was made in the early ſtate of their ſettlement. They eſteemed many to be excellent *teachers*, whom they would not endow with the *paſtoral care*. It was offered to Mr. Brewſter, but he was too modeſt to accept it; and the church, not being able to procure ſuch a teacher as would unite the offices, were for many years like ſheep without a ſhepherd. They had aſſiſtance from the magiſtrates, who were wiſe and devout men. It was then requiſite to the character of a governor to be a man of piety, and able to expound the ſcriptures, which led thoſe in civil office to intereſt themſelves in all the concerns of the churches. We have a particular inſtance, in Winthrop's journal, of the conduct of our rulers.

lers. He tells, that "he went to Plymouth, attended the church meeting, and prophecied."

Mr. Hubbard ſays, "that a chriſtian church, to carry on the forms of worſhip, muſt have ſuitable officers; but the church of Plymouth were a very ſerious people, who knew their own principles; not like many of their followers in ſome parts of the country, properly termed *Seekers*, of whom it may be ſaid, as our Lord ſpeaks of the Samaritans, *They know not what ſpirit they were of.*

It may be proper to mention other gentlemen, beſide Mr. Brewſter, who were officers of this congregational church, and who aſſiſted in every part of worſhip, except the adminiſtration of the ordinances, which was peculiar to the office of Paſtor. Governor Carver was deacon of the firſt church, as well as chief magiſtrate of the colony. He was elected to this office while they were in Holland, at the ſame time with Mr. Samuel Fuller, "an eminent ſurgeon, and man of great piety." The deacons they choſe, after they arrived here, were Mr. Richard Maſterſon and Mr. Thomas Bloſſom, whoſe praiſe is yet in the church at Plymouth. They were uſeful men, famed for their virtues, diligence, and active ſervices.*

There was a diſtinction made in the firſt church between a *ruling elder* and *teaching elder*, beſide the diſtinction we have obſerved between paſtor and teacher. This was owing to the peculiar deſire of theſe good men to preſerve every name mentioned in the evangelical writings, without conſidering that the diſcipline of the church is *diſcretionary*, and muſt be adapted, in ſome meaſure, to local ſituation, circumſtances of the age, or that many things were very unneceſſary in ſucceeding ages, that might be very proper for the primitive church. How far the churches in Maſſachuſetts fell in with the ſentiment of their brethren at Plymouth, and how far this entered into the platform of their church agreed upon at Cambridge; whether it was a partial or univerſal rule; when alterations were made, and why the office of ruling elder is now laid aſide, may become ſuitable topics of diſcuſſion in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Mr. Brewſter was made *ruling elder* in the church of Plymouth,

* Cotton's Relation of the Church in Plymouth.

mouth, and united this with the buſineſs of inſtruction, to which he had been confined. He continued thus to perform the ſeveral duties till his death, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Thomas Cuſhman, ſon of Robert Cuſhman, one of the moſt important and worthy characters among thoſe who formed the firſt ſettlement.*

In March, in the year 1624, Mr. Lyford came over to Plymouth. When he firſt came, he diſcovered ſuch fondneſs in the mode of his ſalutation, that he would have kiſſed their hands who extended them in the common tokens of friendſhip; but this loving brother, and hollow ſaint, ſoon manifeſted that the kiſs of charity was accompanied with the ſmile of deceit. He is repreſented, by Morton, as a man who "croucheth and humbleth himſelf;" and as a treacherous Iſmael, who killed Gedeliah, according to what we read in the prophecy of Jeremy. The worthies of the new ſettlement gave him a very cordial reception, and ſuppoſed he would be a great help to them in their ſolitary condition. The governor treated him with the like reſpect as he did Mr. Brewſter.

But although this man was admitted to the church, and made great profeſſions of his goodneſs, confeſſion of former wickedneſs, and declarations of the ſoundneſs of his faith, he ſpit the venom of the aſp from his tongue, and diſcovered the malignity of a demon, who was ſent to mar the happineſs of the ſettlement and diſturb the peace of the church. The air was tainted with the ſlanders he wrote and ſpread for the ſervice of men who were enemies of the plantation: for ſuch men there were in the old country, both of the clergy and the ſtate, who ſeemed determined to perſecute this little flock, that had fled into the wilderneſs, as if the ſandy deſerts were too good for them.

One letter in particular the governor intercepted. A prudent uſe was made of it, till he could expoſe all the ſcenes of his villainy.† In

* Mr. Robert Cuſhman preached to theſe pilgrims, our venerable fathers, in 1621. The ſermon contains the beſt advice, and may be read by their poſterity, for other reaſons beſide this, that it is a curioſity worth preſerving among the ancient things of this country. The text is 1 Cor. x. 21.

† It ſeems this Lyford, with others, eſpecially Mr. Oldham, intended to make a ſeparation or diviſion in the church; to alter the govern-

In deſcribing the ſtate of things appertaining to the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of New-England, I am neceſſarily led to ſpeak of civil hiſtory, which I would avoid as much as poſſible; leaving this to thoſe whoſe opportunities and diligence of reſearch enable them to give a fairer and more complete view of the ſubject: but it is well known that our fathers blended religion with all their concerns; and when civil tranſactions are neceſſarily mingled with the account of the church, ſhould one part only be mentioned, the relation would be lame, for want of the connexion it had with the other.

I have no doubt that the behaviour of Lyford ſprung from political motives. He was calculated to ſerve the views of certain mercenary wretches, who ſent him to America with lucrative, and *not* pious intentions; or elſe he was employed by thoſe, who, being inimical to all diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church, and every ſpecies of republican government, wiſhed to deſtroy this riſing commonwealth. King James only connived at the ſettlement. He did not tolerate principles and practices which oppoſed eccleſiaſtical dominion; and eſpecially was his ire excited, when men deſpiſed the *folly*, which is ſometimes equal to the *fury* of *deſpotiſm*. The ſpies of Charles's court would alſo ſearch the uttermoſt parts of the earth, for the ſake of deſtroying men's liberty.

From long experience in human artifice and deception, they well knew that a man muſt *ſeem to be religious* to carry a point againſt a people, who lived in all "good conſcience," and,

ment, and become men of diſtinction, as many turbulent ſpirits have done, who have ſoon fallen from the high places where their own giddy imaginations have placed them. Too many are ready to do miſchief, when they are active, and want the diſpoſition to do good. It was fortunate for this country, that ſuch ſchemes as Lyford and Oldham contrived for the deſtruction of New-Plymouth, were ſo early fruſtrated, and that they loſt their influence before they could make the worſt uſe of it. They progreſſed, however, ſo far as to ſet up a different place of worſhip, and made every attempt to diſorganize the firſt church. They left the communion without acquainting the officers and brethren, or ſpeaking to the governor upon the ſubject, and met by themſelves every *Lord's-day*. Beſide this open violation of their duty, they were guilty of other inſults of the authority, of wicked plots and practices, inconſiſtent with the character of good men, and members of the *commonwealth*, and wholly oppoſite to the *ſpirit*, *precepts*, and *inſtitutions* of chriſtianity.

and, for the enjoyment of religion, had left their native land.

Lyford was ſo well inſtructed, as to act his part admirably well: for he joined this community of chriſtians, and was ſo zealous, that they would have choſen him for their miniſter. He actually obtained the confidence of Moſes and Aaron, to whom Gov. Bradford and Mr. Brewſter bore ſome reſemblance, according to the ſtyle of our early writers. One of them ſays, "that the church was troubled with a factious ſpirit, which aroſe from a man who came over to New-England with the beſt of characters, but with what frequently anſwers for the worſt of moral excellencies, a zeal to do more than others; and hence a great confidence was put in him by the Governor, and by the members of the church. He was of their communion till he ſet up a different place of worſhip; and there he adminiſtered the ſacraments till he was brought to a humble confeſſion of all his wickedneſs, and was put under cenſure. He appeared at firſt ſincere, and acknowledged the lenity of the people towards him, and then played the hypocrite by writing againſt the country, and juſtifying his former writings. The time being expired for his cenſure to take place, he gave no evidence of his reformation; but other crimes appearing againſt him, he was baniſhed. He went to Nantaſket, then to Salem, and afterwards to Virginia, where he died."

The conduct of Oldham is leſs connected with the hiſtory of the church, and needs not to be pointed out ſo minutely in this work. Suffice it to ſay, that he lived ſome time after he left Plymouth, and obtained credit again with the people, ſo that they permitted him to trade till he was killed by the Indians. This unhappy event has been often mentioned; and no wonder it ſhould claim ſuch particular notice, as it was the origin of the Pequod war.

The diſcipline of the church was very ſtrict. It accorded with their ideas, though perhaps their ideas were not exactly ſcriptural, or ſo near as they imagined to the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles. They proceeded with much regularity, and the members generally ſubmit-

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ted to the rules preſcribed for their conduct. As thoſe men loſt their reputation, who excited difficulties, ſuch, on the other hand, as had a high reputation in the church for their piety and chriſtian graces, were moſt likely to be diſtinguiſhed with the firſt honours in their civil ſociety. Offenders could not eſcape eccleſiaſtical cenſure; but were obliged to ſubmit, and to ſtudy a greater decorum of behaviour; and thus the dignity of the chriſtian profeſſion was preſerved; a church began to bloſſom in the wilderneſs, and to make theſe ſolitary places rejoice with the conſoling beams of evangelical truth, which had been hidden in pagan darkneſs.

The fathers of New-Plymouth were without a paſtor to rule and adminiſter the ordinances till the year 1629, when they were increaſed by numbers, who had belonged to Mr. Lathrop's church in England, and alſo by as many as thirty-five families of thoſe who were aſſociated with them in Leyden; to whoſe aſſiſtance they cheerfully contributed, looking unto another world for the reward. They certainly could never expect a return of what they expended, which was equal to £.5000 ſterling; a great ſum to be taken from theſe manſions of poverty; but "where the ſpirit of religion influences people, they are rich in the fruits of benevolence."

Mr. Ralph Smith then came over to Maſſachuſetts; and at the deſire of the church in Plymouth, connected himſelf in the paſtoral relation, for which he was not qualified. It is ſaid that he wanted candour, prudence, knowledge, and experience, and reſembled his predeceſſors in nothing, except that he was of the ſtricteſt ſect of the Puritans. Such a man was no way fit to come after Mr. Robinſon, who was exemplary and learned; ſo judicious as to adviſe his people to avoid his errors, and be guided by the wiſdom which is without partiality, which is pure and peaceable; gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, proceeding from the Father of lights. But Mr. Smith was zealous and imprudent: his zeal was that ebullition of temper, which has done much miſchief in ſociety, as well as created confuſions in the church; which leads to follies and extravagance, and ſtirs up all manner of party ſpirit.

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No one,* therefore, could be more unfit to ſettle with a people ſo well inſtructed in righteouſneſs, acquainted with the principles of chriſtianity, and uſed to ſuch order in the church. Mr. Smith ſoon laid down his office, and this reflection was made: "That many times the total vacancy of an office is eaſier to be borne, than the under-performance of it."†

Mr. Cotton, who wrote a particular relation of the firſt church in Plymouth to the year 1760, being in poſſeſſion of the records and other authentic documents, ſpeaks of Mr. R. Smith, ‡ "as a man who was choſen the paſtor after ſome time of trial; a grave man, who continued in the miniſtry four or five years. But finding him a man of low parts and gifts, they, as Providence gave opportunity, improved others as his aſſiſtants; particularly Roger Williams, a young man of bright accompliſhments, but unſtable judgment, who preached among them four years. But at laſt, beginning to vent ſome errors, which were diſagreeable to the church, they, at his deſire, gave him a diſmiſſion to the church of Salem; where, being called to office, he openly propagated his principles, and did much miſchief, as the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians of this country give an account. The next year, Mr. Smith reſigned his miniſtry, partly of his own accord, as thinking it too heavy a burden; and by the perſuaſion of others, who apprehended him not ſufficiently qualified for the work."

During the time of Mr. Smith's miniſtry, they employed Mr. Edward Winſlow, who was ſent agent to England, to procure them a miniſter, as colleague with Mr. Smith. He accordingly agreed with Mr. Glover, an able diſpenſer of the word of God, to come over with them; but he ended his life in London, ſoon after his engagement. Afterwards, Mr. Winſlow providentially meeting with that worthy man, Mr. John Norton, then intending for New-England, he treated with him about ſupplying Plymouth, and coming over with Mr. Winſlow; he landed there, and

* Except Mr. Rogers, who came over in 1628, without any particular invitation; who, being ſubject to fits of inſanity, created only the expenſe of ſending him back.

† Hubbard's MSS. ‡ Hiſt. Collect. vol. III.

and preached with them one winter, but declined ſettling, though earneſtly preſſed to it.

Thus was this poor church, as Mr. Cotton obſerves, diſappointed from time to time in their attempts to ſettle the goſpel among them, ſo as to enjoy the ordinances with the word of life. His idea of the order of the churches is, that none but an ordained paſtor can adminiſter the ordinances. But why ſhould a man be thought worthy to pray, to teach, to prophecy, or explain the ſcriptures, and yet not be qualified to baptize? Mr. Cotton was very much attached to the forms of Geneva and Cambridge; and we may make the ſame obſervation upon moſt of thoſe worthy divines, who organized the religious ſocieties of New-England.

When we reflect upon the ſufferings of theſe early ſettlers, we cannot help admiring their fortitude and perſeverance! They ſuffered more in their own country than others who came over to America. They had more difficulties to encounter than the people of Maſſachuſetts, who landed and formed their ſettlement. They had leſs aſſiſtance from the property and wealth of others, had fewer friends abroad, and more enemies at home. They had enemies among themſelves, who wounded their ſpirits; and they well knew that deep and malicious ſchemes were laid in England to diſturb their peace, and ſet aſide the principles of their eſtabliſhment.

Lyford would have accompliſhed more than he did, had thoſe men, whom he and others wiſhed to injure, been the dupes of his ſubtlety, and mean, hypocritical grimace. But he had to deal with perſons *not* ſuperficial in their inquiries, nor feeble in ſpirit. They were ready to receive to their friendſhip, and to their boſom, all who reſembled the *dove*, but were on their guard againſt the *vulture*, which darts upon its prey. When their fellow-men, (more cruel than birds or beaſts of prey,) whoſe teeth were ſpears and arrows, and their tongues as ſharp ſwords, calumniated their reputation, they truſted in One, who was the ſhield of their excellency, the health of their countenance, and their God.

May we not repeat the ſentiment, that they ſupported their

their character and good name; the peace and order of the churches; the laws and ordinances of their little community, when they had none to guide them in the paſtoral office. As the difficulties increaſed, they encouraged one another, and were ſenſible of their mutual intereſt; an example to chriſtians of all denominations, who may ſee ſo many virtues to imitate, and ſuch pure characters for faith and patience as are ſeldom to be met with in the pages of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

Mr. Hubbard makes theſe ſerious reflections, not unworthy of our attention, and which will pleaſe readers of a religious turn of mind:* "In all their changes, the over-ruling hand of providence was to be acknowledged, that at the laſt found out a reſting place for them, by ſending the angel of his preſence to go before them, and ſafely conduct them through ſo many dangers, and ſo many deaths.

"Our bleſſed Lord, foretelling the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, would have his hearers pray that their flight be not in the winter; but ſuch was the diſpenſation of the Almighty to this poor, deſpiſed company, that, having hardly eſcaped the violence of many furious ſtorms at ſea, they were no ſooner ſet on ſhore, than they were called immediately to encounter with hard and rough weather in the deſert, and barren land, on the verge of winter. The ſun had, in a great meaſure, withdrawn his delightful beams, giving them a ſhort viſit, after tedious, long, and doleful nights, many times brought in with boiſterous ſtorms of ſnow or rain. The earth alſo was diſmantled of all its comely and pleaſant ornaments, by the early approach of hard and ſharp froſts, preſenting them with no other aſpects than the ruthful and weather-beaten face of winter. The barbarians, the apoſtle Paul met with after his ſhipwreck, ſhewed them no ſmall kindneſs, kindling them a fire, and ſuffering them to gather bundles of ſticks for that end; whereas theſe barbarous tribes were at the firſt unwilling to ſpare them any bundle or ſtick, but ſuch as were turned into arrows, and improved to wound their new-come gueſts, which, after a paſſage over the vaſt and wide ocean, were entertained, at the firſt ſight, only with the ſight of withered graſs on the ſurface of the cold earth, and the grim looks of the ſavage enemy. Surely ſuch pilgrims and ſtrangers had need of

* Hubbard's MSS.

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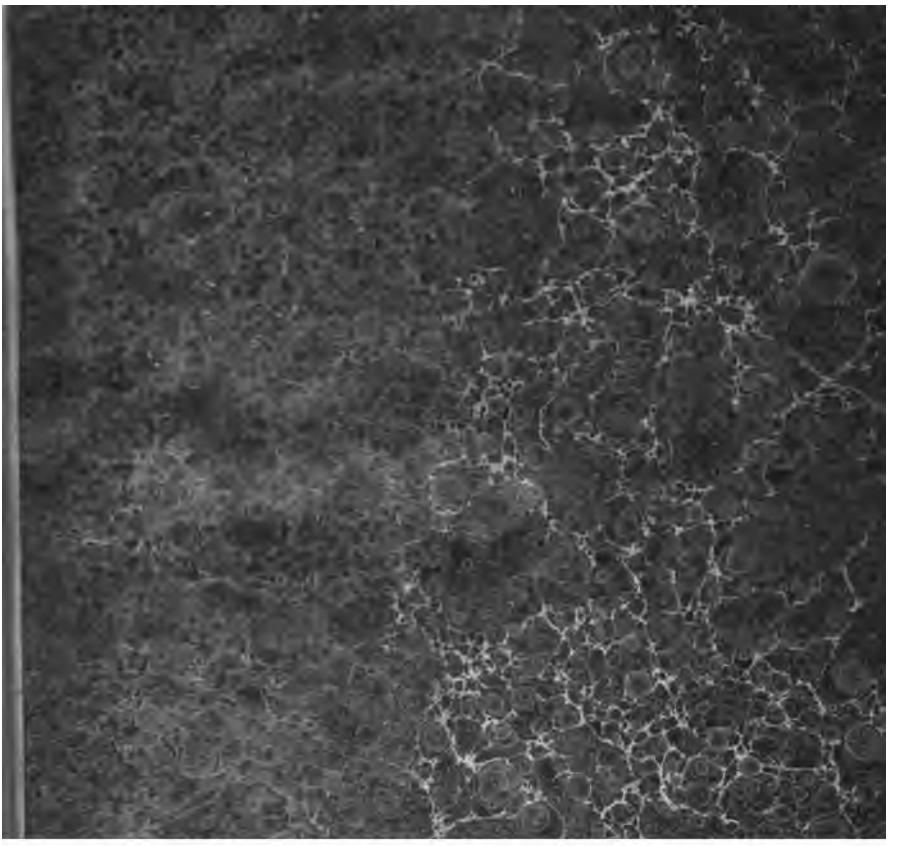
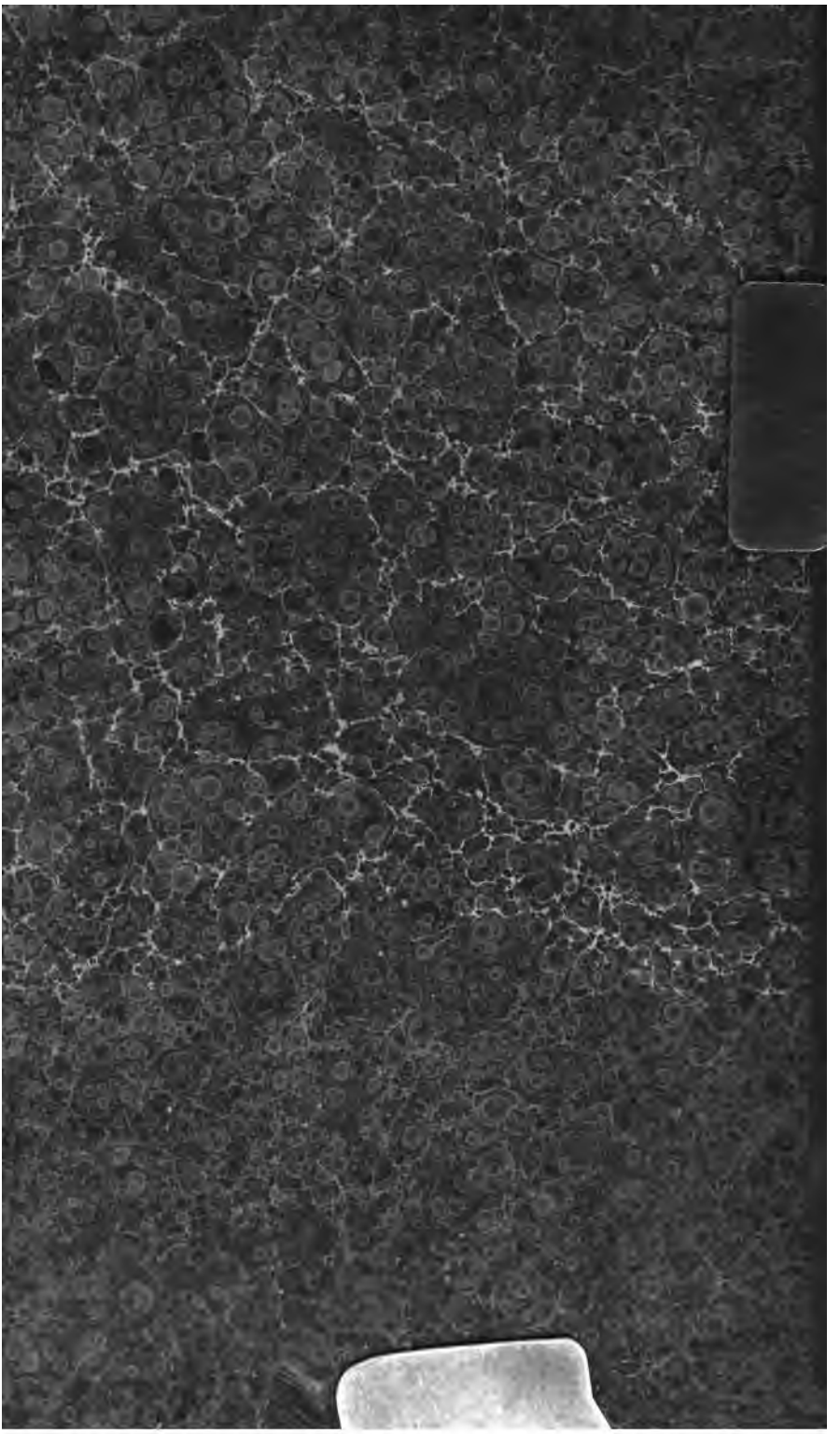
ſome other more inward ſupport and comfort, than this world can give. They had need of a good conſcience within, to adminiſter matter for a continual feaſt, as they were of all other ſupplies to ſuſtain their hearts. It would have tried the faith of Abraham, when ſent from Ur of the Chaldeans, if he had been directed to the Arabian wilderneſs, and not into the land flowing with milk and honey. But they that had the ſame faith that Abraham had, were, when put upon trial, not unwilling to follow the conduct of divine providence, into a land not ſown, not knowing indeed, it may be ſaid, whither he went, yet hoping that God, who, by his ſpecial guidance, had brought them into a wilderneſs, would not be a wilderneſs to them therein, as ſince they have found."

In the year 1730, Mr. Prince preached the Election Sermon. From this ſermon, and other writings of this celebrated divine, we may gather much information, and learn leſſons of piety. His labours have ſaved the hiſtorians of this country many particular reſearches. He was better able to collect materials, and had more induſtry than moſt men.

In addition to the manuſcripts of Dr. I. Mather, Cotton Mather, and Mr. Hubbard, he procured the diaries and obſervations of private gentlemen. He was able, with ſuch aſſiſtance, to gather every minute circumſtance, and a library of ancient books, extremely valuable, which he arranged in a proper manner, and put into the Old South Church. Some relicks of them are to be ſeen at this day, but great depredations have been made by the teeth of time; and alſo by the hand of violence, when the Britiſh troops had poſſeſſion of the temple. Many manuſcripts, likewiſe, have been kept by thoſe who *meant* to borrow.

Every thing may periſh for want of *care*—an obſervation the antiquary frequently makes, who bewails, that valuable records, which would have been uſeful to others, and increaſed the pleaſures of his own mind, ſhould be the food of inſects, or periſh in the ſame neglected corner with the moth and the worm.

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